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TO AN EDITION OF THE
SCHOLIA TO STATIUS

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R. D. SWEENEY

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TO AN EDITION OF THE
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PROLEGOMENA TO AN EDITION OF THE SCHOLIA TO STATIUS

BY

ROBERT DALE SWEENEY

Dartmouth College

U.S.A.

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PREFACE

This present volume is a revised version of a thesis of the same title presented to the Department of the Classics at Harvard University for the doctorate in the spring of 1965. A considerable amount of new evidence has come to light since its submission for this degree which I feel should be made public, and the substantial increase in the present knowledge of the textual tradition of this admittedly somewhat obscure text which this thesis represents will, I feel, serve to justify its publication in book form.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, by its grant of a Dissertation Fellowship, made it possible for me to undertake a tour of Europe from November 1963 to April 1964, during which I was able to examine manuscripts of the commentaries and scholia to Statius in many libraries (as indicated by the lists of manuscripts here given which, unless specifically noted, I handled myself *in situ*), in France, England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy, and the Vatican City, and I should here like to express my thanks to it and to all the libraries I visited for the assistance given me. I should like to thank especially the librarians of the various Oxford and Cambridge college libraries, who opened these libraries for me during a vacation, and extended many courtesies and little kindnesses, the staff, particularly Canon Arnold van Lantschoot, formerly the Vice-Prefect, of the Vatican Library, and the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris. I have also used the facilities of the University Libraries at Bonn (for guidance in which and for valuable bibliographical assistance I must thank my very good friend Dr. Franz-Norbert Klein of Köln-Nippes) and Göttingen and the Biblioteca Civica in Padua, and, in this country, the Library of Congress, the Boston Public Library, and the libraries of Dartmouth College, Yale University, and the University of Pennsylvania, as well as the Harvard College Library, which can perhaps really only be appreciated by those who have labored in the libraries of Europe. A Faculty Fellowship generously provided by Dartmouth College gave me the leisure, and the American Academy in Rome provided me with the facilities, to examine some additional manuscripts and to give the proofs of this long-

delayed work the revisions necessary in the last stages of its production. I should like to extend my thanks to all of these.

I should also like to express my appreciation of the kindnesses shown me by the late Professor B. L. Ullman, who sent me for examination a manuscript in his possession, and by Professors O. A. W. Dilke of the University of Leeds and Donald E. Hill of the University of Western Ontario, for making some valuable suggestions on the textual tradition itself. Thanks are also due to my friend Dr. Gregory Nagy of Harvard University for translating for me an important article from Hungarian. It is his translation I cite throughout.

Most important of all, I must thank Professor Wendell V. Clausen of Harvard University for suggesting this topic, and Dean John P. Elder, also of Harvard, for encouraging it, as well as for the assistance both have generously rendered.

I wish to thank the Loeb Classical Library Foundation for providing a subvention for the publication of this work in this present series.

The edition spoken of in the title of this volume will appear in the Teubner series of classical texts, replacing the 1898 edition of Richard Jahnke and (for the *Super Thebaiden* of Fulgentius Planciades) the edition, also of 1898, of Professor Dr. Rudolf Helm.

Rome
26. November 1967.

INTRODUCTION

Few authors were more popular or widely copied in the Middle Ages than Statius,[1] and probably the majority of our manuscripts of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* contain at least some glosses, and often copious notes or even full scale commentaries.[2] It has been my work to examine as many of these manuscripts as possible, to classify them, and to form an opinion as to their relative merits for the construction of the text of those three commentaries for

[1] Statius was known, of course, only for his *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, since the *Silvae* were not known until the discovery of the (lost) *codex unicus* by Poggio in 1416 or 1417. The *codex unicus* of the *Silvae*, it should be noted, apparently contained no glosses or scholia, and so all annotated manuscripts of this contain notes of Renaissance origin alone. The "old" scholia in Parisinus 8282, which A. Wasserstein ("The Manuscript Tradition of Statius' *Silvae*," *C.Q.* XLVII (N. S. III) (1953), pp. 75-78) seems to feel might indicate a separate source of the text look to me like the sort of thing any Renaissance scholar might write. Neglected evidence of the possible existence of a separate tradition for the *Silvae* is found in a catalogue of Dover Priory of the year 1389 (cf. Montague R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 432,399) which lists a "Stacius minor in libro odarum," which might have been the *Silvae*.

[2] Jacques Boussard ("Le classement des manuscrits de la Thébaïde de Stace", *R.E.L.* XXX (1952), pp. 223-228) gives a list of 112 manuscripts of the *Thebaid* which he has seen, plus several others (p. 228, n. 4) he has not. Paul M. Clogan ("Medieval Glossed Manuscripts of the *Thebaid*", *Manuscripta* XI (1967), pp. 102-112) has now listed 131 manuscripts of the *Thebaid* containing glosses. Silvia Jannaccone in the introduction to her edition of this work (*P. Papinio Stazio L'Achilleide*, Florence, 1950, pp. 6-15) gives an (incomplete) list of manuscripts containing marginal or interlinear glosses or scholia, taken from catalogues without examination of the manuscripts themselves, and organized under categories which defy logic and examination, to which O. A. W. Dilke in the introduction to his edition of this work (*Statius*: *Achilleid, Edited with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 24) made some additions, and Paul M. Clogan ("A Preliminary List of Manuscripts of Statius' *Achilleid*," *Manuscripta* VIII (1964), pp. 175-8), gives a list of *Achilleid* manuscripts. This list, however, includes both manuscripts of the commentaries alone, such as Monacensis 19482, and manuscripts of the *Achilleid* alone, such as Parisinus 10317, without distinguishing among them, so that its purpose is somewhat uncertain and its utility is severely limited.

H. W. Garrod notes, rather neatly, in the introduction to his Oxford Classical Text edition of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* (*P. Papini Stati Thebais et Achilleis*, Oxford, 1906 and later printings, p. v), "Codicum Thebaidos tanta est multitudo ut iure suspiceris pluris per mediam aetatem librarios quam per nostram lectores Statio contigisse," and the same is certainly true of the *Achilleid*.

which alone, among these many extended glosses and compilations of scholia, an ancient or late antique origin can be claimed: [1] the commentaries to the *Thebaid* of Lactantius Placidus and Fulgentius Planciades, and the "Anonymi Commentarius ad Achilleida," found with that of Lactantius Placidus in several manuscripts, and sometimes also ascribed, for no very good reason, to Lactantius Placidus.

The first of these three works was extremely well-known during the Middle Ages, and especially during the early Italian Renaissance, as evidenced by the considerable number of manuscripts of the 15th century of Italian provenance. It was printed early—the *editio princeps* was a Milan edition of c. 1478—and a considerable number of incunabula are known. This Milan edition, the source of all the later editions, was based, apparently, on a Renaissance manuscript of Italian origin, which was extensively emended by Boninus Mombritius in a way reflecting little credit on him or on those who followed him. None of the subsequent editions mentioned him, and his name was unknown to all subsequent scholars. I have been the first to give him credit, and his name, which has never previously appeared in an apparatus, will occasionally be found in mine.

A *textus receptus* was thus established, and interest in this work, at least as evidenced by reprintings and republications,[2] had waned, when Friedrich Lindenbrog, who wrote under the name Tiliobroga, issued an edition at Paris in 1600. In his introduction he claimed to have used two manuscripts, one a Pithoeanus, belonging to François Pithou, and the other ("sed quod cedebat in integritate Pithoeano") a Regius, the former containing in addition an anonymous commentary to the *Achilleid*, which he printed for the first time. Only in his "Variae Lectiones" (pp. 499-512) here and there did he refer to earlier editions, and few later scholars ever

[1] None of the "new" scholia which have, from time to time, been published seem to be anything but extracts from Servius, St. Isidore of Seville, Hyginus, the Vatican Mythographers, and so on. Cf. István Varjás, "Kritikai adalékok a Statius Thebaisához, irt scholionokhoz," *Egytemes philologiai közlöny* XVII (1893), pp. 651-652, which contains a warning which, had it been heeded, might have saved many unnecessary attempts to regain the "original" form of the text from which Lactantius Placidus was "excerpted." But he wrote, unfortunately, in Hungarian, a language seldom read by non-Hungarian scholars, none of whom bothered to have his article translated, and so this warning was missed. Cf. below under Bamberg; Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Class. 47 (Chapter I, List A).

[2] The last previous publication was in the Venetus of 1508.

mention these early editions, seemingly working under the unconscious assumption that Lindenbrog—contrary to the known practice of scholars of that time—formed his text from these two manuscripts. What we actually have in Lindenbrog's edition is nothing more than the *textus receptus*, emended in places by comparison with these manuscripts and corrected on occasion by conjectures which are seldom valuable and which neglect many places where the corruption was patent and the remedy within the reach of the most elementary student of the classics.[1]

After the death of Caspar von Barth, Christian Daum put out at Zwickau (Latin *Cygneae*) in 1664 an edition containing many new readings and new scholia from Barth's notes. Barth, however, declared that, because of a fire which had destroyed his manuscripts and his notes on them, he was unable to separate the material of his own composition from what he had found in his manuscripts. His reputation for mendacity caused doubt to be cast on the value of his work, and as a result Barth's edition did not supplant Lindenbrog's, which remained the standard edition and the *textus receptus* for nearly three hundred years.

The truth of the matter seems to be this: that Barth owned manuscripts of Statius has been demonstrated,[2] and it is not unlikely that, like many others listed below (cf. Lists A and B in Chapter I), they contained scholia from Lactantius Placidus, perhaps in the margins. These very likely contained interpolations from other authors such as Servius, St. Isidore of Seville, Hyginus, and the Vatican Mythographers, as do almost all known manuscripts. It seems clear that the scholia belonged to what may be referred to as the "Italian vulgate" (cf. below Chapter II), to which all our manuscripts written later than the 12th century belong, with the

[1] An example is at III, 483 (Jahnke p. 170,8), where Lindenbrog prints "& * apsin," while the extremely obvious μετεμψύχωσιν (which he gives as a conjecture among his "Variae Lectiones") is found, for example, in MS. Q (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. Ricc. 651). This occurrence of the word should, it is to be noted, be added to the list of passages in which it is found, given in footnote 1 to page ix of Sir Henry Stuart Jones' 1925 preface to the ninth edition of Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1940).

[2] Cf. Alfred Klotz, "Die Barthschen Statiushandschriften," *Rh.M.* LIX (1904), pp. 373-390 and O. Clemen, "Handschriften und Bücher aus dem Besitze Kaspar v. Barths in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XXXVIII (1921), pp. 267-289, especially pp. 285-286.

exception of one *codex descriptus* of an earlier manuscript, the Vallicellianus C. 60 in Rome, and the possible exception of some fragments. The peculiar errors of our early printed *textus receptus* and of Lindenbrog, which are based on the Italian vulgate, are not corrected in it, and these errors are not found (as will be noted below) *except* in descendants of the archetype of the Italian vulgate. There could thus hardly be any scholia, except those forged, or shall we say inserted by accident, by Barth himself, not of known ancient origin. Since his manuscripts are unnecessary, with our wealth of manuscripts of this Italian vulgate, to reconstruct their archetype, one can hardly agree with Wilamowitz' statement (in "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* XXXIV (1899), p. 601) that the relation of Barth's scholia to the text is "die Hauptfrage der Rezensio." Wilamowitz' statement (*ibid.*, p. 601), about Barth's scholium to III, 466, "dicunt poetam ista omnia e Graeco poeta Antimacho deduxisse", which he had discussed in "Lesefrüchte" in the preceding volume of *Hermes* (XXXIII (1898), pp. 513-514), "Es stammt aus der Ausgabe von C. Barth; dass wusste ich; aber kein Mensch kann daran denken, dass er es erfunden hätte," can safely be contradicted: this looks like one of Barth's inventions (surely a scholiast would have written "dicit" or "dicitur"). A falsified source indicated from a lost poet would be the one type of scholium most likely to have been forged by Barth. In short, Barth's edition should be considered only as a source of conjectures, since (a) its text is derived from inferior manuscripts, not needed for the reconstruction of the text, (b) many of its additional scholia are no doubt derived from other ancient scholiastic writers, commentators, or collectors of ancient myths and lore, well known to us, and (c) some of its additional scholia are of Barth's own (more or less innocent) composition.

There then followed a long interval in which nothing need be noted, until Schottky's dissertation in 1846,[1] which was the first of several works on this subject to appear. Those of Eduard Wölfflin, who, in 1866, managed to restore much of the Greek which had been wretchedly corrupted in the manuscripts and left uncorrected in the early editions, and of Philipp Kohlmann, who was preparing an edition of these scholia to go with his editions of the *Achilleid* (Leipzig, 1879) and the *Thebaid* (Leipzig, 1884) before his

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[1] Hermann Schottky, *De pretio Lactantiani commentarii in Statii Thebaida et de nomine, philosophia, et aetate commentatoris*, Diss. Breslau, 1846.

untimely death,[1] deserve special note, as do the erratic but sometimes brilliant articles of Varjás noted above (*op. cit.*, pp. 651-663, 727-745), but it would be difficult to disagree with the remark of Varjás (*ibid.*, p. 651) in 1893 that, "One can hardly find a Latin work with which scholars have spent such little time as the scholia of Statius." Also, in 1897 Rudolf Helm published the little allegorical commentary on the *Thebaid* by Fulgentius Planciades for the first time, although it had been known in the late Renaissance to Pierre Daniel.[2]

After Kohlmann's death the work of editing Lactantius Placidus and the commentary to the *Achilleid* for the Teubner series passed in 1892 to Richard Jahnke, a *Gymnasium* teacher at Elberfeld, who produced his work in 1898.[3] Jahnke apologizes in his

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[1] Eduard Wölfflin, "Zu den Statiusscholien," *Philologus* XXIV (1866), pp. 156-158, in which he also names for the first time the Monacenses Clm. 6396 (f) and 19482 (M) and the Bambergensis M. IV. 11 (now MS. Class. 47), and Kohlmann's works: *Neue Scholien zur Thebais des Statius, aus einer Pariser Handschrift herausgegeben*, Progr. Posen, 1873 (in which he mentions for the first time the Parisinus 10317), "Beiträge zur Kritik des Statiusscholiasten," *Philologus* XXXIII (1874), pp. 128-138 (in which he mentions for the first time the Parisinus 8064, used by Jahnke), "Die Inschrift des Othryades beim Statiusscholiasten," *Rh.M.* XXXI (1876), pp. 302-304 (a neat and decisive little article on IV, 48), *P. Papini Stati Achilleidos Libri I versus 1-396 cum scholiis*, Progr. Emden, 1877, and *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaidos librum III, 1-323 commentarii ad fidem codicum recensiti*, Progr. Emden, 1887. It is to be regretted that these *Gymnasialprogramme* are so extremely rare: Harvard does not own a copy of any of them. Kohlmann's notes, which were apparently widely used by Jahnke (cf., e.g., under the Valenciennes MS. Valentinianus 394 in Chapter I, List A below), were, as Jahnke notes in the introduction to his edition (p. ix), at the library at Bonn. Enquiries made there by me and by my friend Dr. Franz-Norbert Klein disclosed that they were destroyed in the Second World War, as was also, it should be noted, Lindenbrog's copy of his own edition, with many notes and corrections in his own hand, which was in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (the former Johanneum) at Hamburg, according to a letter from that library dated 9. September 1963. This was used by Schottky (*op. cit.*, p. 2), and occasionally cited by him, some other citations are found in Kohlmann's two *specimina critica*, and some readings from it, luckily, were written by D'Orville (under the *siglum* H) in the margins of the Bodleian Library's MS. D'Orville 327 (Auct. X. 2.2.7), a copy of Lindenbrog's 1600 edition.

[2] Helm's text (*Rh.M.* LII (1897), pp. 177-186) was reprinted in his Teubner edition of Fulgentius Planciades (*Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii v. c. opera*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 180-186). He knew of it only in the Parisinus 3012, but I have discovered a copy of this work, in the hand of Pierre Daniel, in Bern MS. 141, 323 (Cf. Chapter I, List F).

[3] This is the second time that the edition fell into incompetent hands when it might have come into those of a good scholar, who could have made

introduction (p. vii), saying that the reader ought not to expect much from his edition ("Praefanti mihi hunc librum maxime id agendum videtur, ne quis nimium exspectet"), due to the small amount of time which he, impeded by his other duties, was able to give to this work, and, indeed, the work is, and was soon recognized as, a minor *Skandal der Wissenschaft.* His lack of any view as to the relationship between his manuscripts, his only occasional use of certain excellent older manuscripts, his misunderstanding of Lindenbrog's statements about his manuscript readings, and his frequent ignorance of parallels and quotations from ancient authors by the scholiasts were obvious to the reviewers, but his inability to construct an *apparatus criticus* without deceiving or mystifying the reader or creating an aesthetic nuisance, the wretchedness of his collations of Pa and Pb (my p and k: M is better collated, since he checked his collations against those of others, although badly reported), and his retention in his apparatus of the variants in the old printed vulgate, which he mistakenly assumes were all original in Lindenbrog—faults which my own work with the manuscripts has revealed—and his general lack of *Editionstechnik* and of critical acumen (as revealed by his excessively numerous and excessively bad conjectures) are faults equally as grave. Yet it must be admitted that Jahnke, even though faint-heartedly, did finally consign the old printed vulgate to the trash-can, and by using, albeit badly, a good collation of an excellent manuscript did more for the text of these two commentaries than anyone has ever done, before or since.

The appearance of this edition brought forth a flood of reviews, conjectures, criticisms, and *Quellenforschung.* Wilamowitz, in the "Lesefrüchte" previously noted, skimmed the cream of the most obvious faults and made some brilliant suggestions, and Funaioli in 1915, in issuing the first full report of our oldest manuscript, the Valentinianus 394,[1] did much for Lactantius Placidus,

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Lactantius Placidus a readable author, since it is possible that, had not Jahnke done this Teubner edition, it would have been edited by Alfred Klotz. Three hundred years before, Joseph Scaliger and Johannes Wowerius (Jan van der Wouver) had planned an edition of Statius with the scholia (cf. Ep. 374, dated 19. April 1600, to Wowerius, full of plans for it, in Scaliger's *Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt*. . ., Leyden, 1627) but were prevented by the appearance of the edition of Lindenbrog, one of Scaliger's former (1594-1596) pupils. Lindenbrog announced this in a letter to Scaliger, dated 24. April 1600 (cf. Scaliger's Ep. 212 in reply).

[1] Gino Funaioli, "Da un codice di Valenciennes," *Stud. ital. di filol. class.* XXI (1915), pp. 1-73 (= *Esegesi virgiliana antica,* Milan, 1930, pp. 444-508).

while Paul Wessner, by his careful and rational surveys of the mass of published material in Bursian's *Jahresberichte* and the Pauly-Wissowa,[1] kept order magisterially, but the credit for producing the most searching article on these scholia goes to Alfred Klotz, whose article, "Die Statiusscholien", (*A.L.L.G.*, XV (1908), pp. 485-525) is at once the most thorough and, in general, most nearly impeccably rational account of these works ever produced. After some years the flood receded, and of the productions of recent years only a series of articles by Paul van de Woestijne need be mentioned.[2]

I here present an annotated list of the manuscripts of these three commentaries, indicating which are of value for the construction of the text, as well as a list and tentative classification of the manuscripts of other, mediaeval and Renaissance, commentaries on the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, and of manuscripts not useful for the text of any commentary, but nevertheless containing glosses or scholia; a consideration of the relationships between the manuscripts of these works, leading to the establishment of stemmata; a *specimen criticum* of the text of Lactantius Placidus III, 205-386, on which the stemma of this work is largely based; and an annotated bibliography, intended to be complete.

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[1] In *J.A.W.* CXIII (1902), pp. 213-214; CXXXIX (1908), pp. 186-189; and CLXXXVIII (1921), pp. 228-234 and *RE* XXIII, 356-360 (1924), s. v. "Lactantius Placidus."

[2] "Le Codex Valentinianus 394 de Lactantius Placidus," *R.B.Ph.* XIX (1940), pp. 37-63 (containing, p. 38, n. 2, the current "standard" list of manuscripts of Lactantius Placidus); "Note sur un passage de Lactantius Placidus," *Latomus* V (*Mél. Kugener*), (1946), pp. 181-184 (on IV. 481-486); "Marginalien bij Lactantius Placidus," *L'Antiquité Classique* N.S. XVII (1948), pp. 573-584; and "Les scolies à la Thébaïde de Stace. Remarques et suggestions," *L'Antiquité Classique* N.S. XIX (1950), pp. 149-163.

CHAPTER ONE

A LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The list which follows does not pretend to be complete, although it is based on an extensive survey of printed and unprinted manuscript catalogues and on considerable correspondence with libraries whose manuscript catalogues have not been completely published or were inaccessible to me. As will be seen, the great majority of these manuscripts (unless otherwise noted) have never before been reported in the literature of classical philology: even when a manuscript, discovered by chance or the fitful diligence of scholars, has passed into the current of scholarly literature, it has seldom been investigated with any thoroughness, despite its antiquity or intrinsic interest, and has generally remained merely an item in a footnote or a bibliography. I have been able to examine personally all the manuscripts listed here, unless specifically noted otherwise, and I have obtained microfilms or photographs of the relevant manuscripts where necessary or desirable. This allowed me to evaluate these manuscripts, to reject the majority, including some of those previously noted, to bring some to light from obscurity, and to say which manuscripts deserve further attention. The resulting examination has led to the uncovering of a great deal of information about the history of the textual tradition of these works, to the removal from consideration of much mediaeval and Renaissance material, and to the formation of stemmata for Lactantius Placidus and the scholia to the *Achilleid*, so that the criticism of these texts can henceforth proceed on a rational basis, from a fairly easily reconstructable archetype by emendation, rather than by guesswork and deduction from poorly chosen witnesses whose relationship was unknown.

It must first be noted that the divisions on which this list is based are not separate and immutable categories, each distinct in its essence from the others. It is not a matter of the difference between a square and a triangle, with no three-and-a-half-sided figure being possible, but of points on a continuum. The text of these works—especially of Lactantius Placidus—is not the same, except for certain very closely related manuscripts, even in what it con-

tains, in any two manuscripts, but varies, because of emendation, interpolation, and omission, *at every point in the tradition*, so that some manuscripts, such as the Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS. C. 60, which present a continuous text, are far less close in their readings to the archetype than others, such as the Monacensis Clm. 6396, which preserve the text in the form of marginal scholia, and, furthermore, because of more omissions, the former actually preserve less of the body of the text of the archetype. Nothing could be more foolish than Jahnke's division between manuscripts on these grounds, except his out-of-hand rejection of these latter manuscripts. In addition, as omission and interpolation increase, no absolute, hard and fast line can be drawn on the whole continuum between such manuscripts as the Monacensis Clm. 6396, which preserve the text with great fidelity, and others which interpolate and excerpt more and more, down to the great bulk of the manuscripts whose glosses and scholia, while occasionally agreeing in substance, preserve few or none of the words of the original. These scholia and glosses were not treated as matters of philological interest in themselves, but as sources of information, of a fullness or paucity dependent on the knowledge and interest of the scribe and his potential readers, as well as on his exemplar. My division, then, is in theory at least purely arbitrary, but, being based on actual investigation, can be trusted at least to divide patently mediaeval and Renaissance compilations from manuscripts preserving the text in relative purity. Certain cases seemed doubtful; these have been listed separately. In none of these manuscripts, all of the *Thebaid* with marginal or interlinear scholia or glosses (it is a curious fact that there are none for the *Achilleid* commentary, probably because of its extremely limited circulation), did the amount of the text of Lactantius Placidus that was preserved seem great enough, or its integrity sufficient, to warrant even the acquisition of microfilm to study at leisure. That is, none seemed able to give additional and pertinent help in the reconstruction of the archetype, nor was of sufficient age or other interest to give hope that it might represent another tradition independent of that which can be reconstructed. Unless one or the other condition obtain in a manuscript, it is useless to publish readings from it or "new" scholia which are actually interpolated from some other ancient source (it should especially be noted that if its basic text is of the Italian vulgate tradition, it is *ipso facto* useless).

A. Manuscripts of the commentary on the Thebaid *ascribed to Lactantius Placidus.*

Bamberg: Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Class. 47 (once MS. Lat. M IV 11—not N, as in Kohlmann, *P. Papini Stati Achilleidos, op. cit.*, and other works, followed by most succeeding scholars) (= B), of the eleventh century. This manuscript was first noted by Eduard Wölfflin (*op, cit.*, pp. 156-158). István Varjás noted (*op. cit.*, p. 652) that the additional scholia in this manuscript are largely identical with those published by Kohlmann in *Neue Scholien* . . . (*op. cit.*), from E (Parisinus 10317), and are derived from St. Isidore, Servius, and other ancient sources, rather than being original. Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1896, II, 46, followed by Otto Müller, "Aus alten Handschriften des Statius III", *W.kl.Ph.* XX (1903), p. 197, maintained that the text of B was superior to the extant tradition. Gino Funaioli, *Esegesi* . . ., *op. cit.*, p. 500, declared that B, E, and V, the Valentinianus 394 of the ninth century at Valenciennes, form a family. This manuscript was known to Jahnke by excerpts sent to him by Edmund Kelter (Jahnke, *op. cit.*, p. viii), but not used extensively. The manuscript, which seems to have originated at the monastery in Bamberg, contains the *Thebaid* in one column for ff. 1a-63b and 93a and in two for 64a-92b: the scholia are written in the margins, especially in the first part, with some of the shorter scholia between the lines. There are no scholia on 1a, 92b, and 93a. Several pages have been clipped to size, others have suffered other damage, and many of the scholia, especially in the margins, have been worn away to such an extent that it is often not a question of reading the scholia but of determining whether or not they are or were present. (Wessner's statement (*RE* XXIII, 360) that the *Achilleid* commentary is found in this manuscript is a curious error, based, as are Wessner's continual citations of the Valentinianus 394 as the 514 and the Bambergensis M IV 11 as the N IV 11, on some slipshod work of Kohlmann's. Kohlmann lists this manuscript in the *sigla* to this commentary in his specimen edition of the *Achilleid* (*P. Papini Stati Achilleidos, op. cit.*), because he notes that the scholium to line I, 206 *Post vitiatam* . . . *dicunt* (= Serv. *ad Aen.* III, 73) is also found in B and E at *Thebaid* III, 43 ff. This is his only citation. E is not listed among these *sigla* only because it is listed directly above among the *sigla* to the *Achilleid.*)

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. A 91, fr. 6 (= Fr. Bernense), s. X-XI; one folio only, ripped along its upper outside corner, containing the commentary of Lactantius Placidus (with some interpolations) in two columns, for I, 446 (*indolem profitetur* . . .)-509 (placed after 514), 518-608, 620(?)-II, *argumentum* (. . . *pollicitatio adrasti filias suas*), with considerable loss of text both from the rip and from staining (although not by fading). I have a photograph of this fragment, which I did not examine *in situ*.

Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxellensis 1723 (= D), s. XV, ending at XII, 577, used by Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, 46, and Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, Paris, 1938, I, 226. Cumont, who called the manuscript D, declared that it was closely related to Lindenbrog's manuscript: this is true, in the sense that D is a *codex descriptus* from an early printed text, from which Lindenbrog was also partially derived (cf. Chapter II, A, I below). It contains the text of the *Thebaid*, with the commentary of Lactantius Placidus, so entitled, in the margins. I have obtained and examined a microfilm of Book III, but have not seen this manuscript personally.

Düsseldorf: Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, F. 49, s. X-XI; the lost Münster MS. 716 (70a), which, according to a letter from the Universitätsbibliothek, Münster, dated 19. September 1963, was "spätestens im Kriege vernichtet", and which is known only from the catalogue of Joseph Staender, *Chirographorum in Regia Bibliotheca Paulina Monasteriensi Catalogus*, Breslau, 1889, p. 157, which states that the fragments "videntur oriunda esse ex eodem codice Werdenensi" about which Schmitz and Crecelius (*cf. inf.*) wrote; and the fragments known as the Fragmenta Werdensia, since lost, described in Wilhelm Schmitz' "Ein Düsseldorfer Statiusfragment", *Rh.M.* XXI (1866), pp. 438-443, are all part of one shattered manuscript of the *Thebaid* from Werden (= W), with marginal scholia from Lactantius Placidus and only a few interlinear glosses. Most folia in these fragments (which were found in bookbindings) have been trimmed at top, bottom, or sides (causing an especially serious loss of the marginal scholia); in addition, some parts have been largely or completely obliterated. Parts were published by Wilhelm Crecelius, *Rh.M.* XXXII (1877), pp. 632-636 (known as the Fragmenta Werdensia II), by Schmitz, as noted above, and part (known as the Fragmenta Monasteriensia, and falsely ascribed (p. 5 of the work here cited) to the twelfth century) by Ferdinand Deycks, "Statii codicis Thebaidos egregii aliquot

fragmenta accuratius examinata", *Index lectionum hibernarum Monasteriensium* 1865/6, Münster, 1865) pp. 5-14 (only the scholia to III, 337-353 are given by Deycks, on pp. 12-13). These latter fragments were lost at the time Alfred Klotz issued his edition of the *Thebaid* (cf. all his remarks on these fragments, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx-xxxvii): they had apparently been lent to Deycks at Münster and were not returned until after his death (which is also, although without such a happy result, what happened to the Fragmenta Werdensia: cf. Crecelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 635-636). Adjoined is a table showing, briefly, the contents of the manuscript:

(from Staender): I, 2-35 (*sic*: read 33?), 36-70, 352-385, 387-421' 424-456, 459-491.
(In F. 49 and Deycks): III, 334-473 (404 cut half in two), 693-719 (the 721 on the folder is an error). IV, 1-18, together with a 12-line metrical argument, 26-55, 63-90, 379-407, 415-442, 451-477, 486-512, 725-843 (759, 794, and 829 are not actually found here). V, 1-4, together with a 12-line metrical argument.
(from Staender): VI, 69-89, 105-124, 421-439, 456-474.
(In F. 49 and Crecelius, with lines not given by Crecelius, and thus unpublished, starred): IX, 235-265, 270-300, 305-334*, 340-369*, 656-686*, 691-720*, 726-756, 761-791, 795-864*.
(from Schmitz, but since lost): IX, 865-907. X, 1-12, together with a 12-line metrical argument, 298-368.
(In F. 49 alone, unpublished): X, 371-439 (or 440?). 657-685, 693-720, 727-755, 762-790. XI, 197-229, 232-264, 267-300, 302-335.

For a conjecture on the place of this manuscript in the stemma' cf. inf. Chapter II, A, 2. It is not likely that much assistance could be derived from this manuscript for the text of Lactantius Placidus.

Escorial: Real Biblioteca, MS. h. II. 8 (= e), dated 1459. I have complete photographs of this manuscript, which I was not able to examine *in situ*, furnished by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 6 (= m), s. XI (Boussard, *op. cit.*, p. 223, says really s. XII), with ff. 43, 100, 111, 165, 166, and 171 in the hand of Boccaccio, who once owned it. This manuscript of the *Thebaid* was noted to contain scholia by Alfred Klotz (*Thebaid*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii-xl) and mentioned in Carlo Landi, "Di un commento medievale inedito della Tebaide di

Stazio", *Atti e Mem. Accad. Pad.* XXX (1914), p. 316, n. 3. So far as I have been able to determine, no readings from its scholia have ever been published. Probably of north European origin.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 130 (= Fr. Strozzianum), s. XIII, contains the *Achilleid* without notes and the *Thebaid* with scattered notes or glosses, except on ff. 1a-5b and 11b, which have full marginal scholia. The latter, to II, 149-188, bear no relation to Lactantius Placidus, but the former, to I, 31-380, are from Lactantius Placidus, with some rewriting, especially toward the end. This manuscript is in the list of Boussard (*op. cit.*, p. 225), which does not, however, mention the scholia. Cf. List D.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. Ricc. 651 (= Q), s. XV. The text contains some marginal variants, and is probably late fifteenth century.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. Ricc. 780 (= Z), s. XV. Since this manuscript inserts after the words "nati sunt" in III, 285 the words "sociorum cadmi terrigenarum nomina descripta tantaque series a principio perlata pro fide dicitur" which appear as a marginal note at this point in A, the Palatinus lat. 1694, this manuscript would seem to be a *codex descriptus* of the latter.

Kassel: Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek, 2°. MS. poet. 8 (MS. Lat. 164) (= H), s. XI-XII, contains a full text of the *Thebaid*, full scholia from Lactantius Placidus for I, 696-II, 93, and unimportant notes in another hand on the rest of the text. At the end of the manuscript is an epigram stating that it was written "Bis quingenteno, Bis trino, Bis quoque bino,/ Nascentis Christi" and (later?) given to the monastery of Hasunga (near Kassel) by Aribo. The date is thus 1010, and this Aribo was Archbishop of Mainz 1021-1031 (that he died in 1031 eliminates the possibility that the date is to be read 1064), a noted scholar, and a possible founder of this monastery (cf. on these matters Karl Friedrich Weber, *De Codice Statii Cassellano*, Progr. Marburg, 1853, pp. 1-6). Since the manuscript is dated s. XI-XII, this must have stood in its exemplar. Where the manuscript might have been written is unknown, but it was presumably in central Germany. The fragment of the commentary was transcribed and published by Weber (*ibid.*, pp. 9-18)—a reproduction of which I obtained in Zürich (I have not seen the manuscript itself)—, was used by Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, 46, and was known to and occasicnally used by Jahnke.

According to a letter from the library dated 28. October 1963, the manuscript survived World War II.

Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek, MS. L. III (Rep. I, 12a), s. X, a fragment of the *Thebaid*, written in Germany, as shown by some German glosses, containing only IV, 352-753, with marginal and interlinear scholia from Lactantius Placidus. This manuscript (= Fr. Lipsiense) was mentioned in the preface to the edition of the *Thebaid* by Alfred Klotz (*op. cit.*, p. xvii), who maintained that it was a *gemellus* of the Bambergensis. This manuscript survived the Second World War, and I have a complete microfilm of it. I have not seen this manuscript personally.

Liège: Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS. 660 (386 C), 1 f. only, containing *Thebaid* X, 197-254, with scholia from Lactantius Placidus, s. XI (= Fr. Leodense). Cf. Odette Bouquiaux-Simon, "Un manuscrit de Stace à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège (Thébaïde X, 197-254)," *Latomus* XXI (1962), pp. 839-847, which includes a facsimile of this folium, which I have not examined *in situ*.

Montpellier: Faculté de médecine, MS. H. 62, f. 310 a-b (= Fr. Montepessulanum), s. X, contains *Thebaid* XI, 409-587, with interlinear notes from Lactantius Placidus. I have complete photographs of this fragment, which I have not seen personally.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 6396 (= f), s. XI, from Freisingen (originally Fris. 196), contains I, 12-XII, 656 with marginal scholia. It was one of the Munich manuscripts used in Robert Unger, *Electa e Lactantii in Statii Thebaidem commentariis ad codicum fidem recognitis*, Prog. Friedland, 1864, without further specification, and identified in Wölfflin, *op. cit.*, p. 156. It was used by Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, 46, and occasionally used by Jahnke, who noted (*op. cit.*, p. viii) that it "eadem fere praebet" as M, the Monacensis Clm. 19482.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 17206 (= S), s. XII, from Scheftlarn, contains the *Thebaid* from VI, 809 to the end, with marginal and interlinear notes from Lactantius Placidus. This manuscript seems never to have been noted before.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 19482 (= M), s. XI/XII, from Tegernsee (originally Tegernseensis 1482), was collated by Jahnke and his collation was then compared with those of Edmund Kelter and Richard Klotz (*op. cit.*, p. viii), so that this is the only complete manuscript of Lactantius Placidus

at all well known. This manuscript was apparently first noted by Wölfflin (*op. cit.*, p. 156) as the second of the unidentified Munich manuscripts in Unger (*op. cit.*). Cf. List F.

Naples: Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini CVI. (Pil. X, n° XXXIII) (= N), dated 1478. The note in the catalogue of E. Mandarini (*I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli*, Naples, 1897, p. 198) that this manuscript was "identico" with that used by Lindenbrog "tranne le varianti", is false, even if any sense could be found in it, since, as will be shown below (p. 62), the manuscript is a *codex descriptus* from Vaticanus palatinus lat. 1694. Cf. List F.

New York City: Columbia University Library, Plimpton Collection, MS. 121 (= Fr. Plimptonianum), s. XIII, fragments consisting of four folia of the *Thebaid*, containing VIII, 375-432 and IX, 2-60, 756-814, with marginal and interlinear notes from Lactantius Placidus. I have complete photographs of this manuscript, which I have not seen personally.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 75 (= o), s. XV.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8055, pp. 1-140 (the numeration is by sides, not folia: in two columns), s. XI, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis. This manuscript once belonged to Colbert, and was cited by Kohlmann, *Thebaid*, *op. cit.*, p. xiii (whom Jahnke followed on a few occasions), as the Colbertinus. The scholia are sparse and condensed, and I have cited this manuscript (as C) only *passim*. There is no "Quaeritur quo tempore." For a conjecture on its place in the stemma, cf. below Chapter II, A, II.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8063 (= p), s. XIV. This manuscript, which was first used by Dübner in his Leipzig edition of 1837, was very badly collated by Jahnke (as Pa) for his edition. It bears, on f. A, the note, "Visto per mi Francesco da Lucha 1469". I have photographs of this manuscript, which I have not seen personally. Cf. below under the Vaticanus palatinus latinus 1694.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8064 (= k), s. XV, of Italian origin. This seems to have been mentioned first by Kohlmann ("Beiträge . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 130-1). Eduard Bieber (*Hygini fabularum supplementum*, Diss. Marburg, 1904, p. 7) said that k was "sine ulla dubitatione" the same as the Regius of Lindenbrog, an opinion which Paul Wessner (*RE* XXIII, 356) found "anschei-

nend". This is false, as is shown below (p. 53, n. 1), but that the MS. Regius was fairly closely related to k is unquestionable. Jahnke uses it throughout, citing it as Pb. His collation is very inaccurate. Both this manuscript and the Parisinus 8063 were once in the ownership of the Visconti, cf. Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, Publications de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* V, Paris, 1955, p. 93, n. 4 and p. 110.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 10317 (= E), s. X (Boussard, (*op. cit.*, p. 224) says not earlier than the end of s. XI), treated of in Kohlmann, *Neue Scholien* . . . (*op. cit.*), and John M. Burnam, *The Placidus Commentary on Statius, Un. of Cincinnati Bulletin No.* 3, Cincinnati, 1901 (a work which seems to have escaped the attention of Wessner and Lambrino in their bibliographies, and of all other European scholars who have written on the subject). This manuscript contains the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear glosses and scholia in at least four hands, all but a very few being in two hands which I call E^1 (apparently the same as that of the scribe) and E^2, which, as will be seen below (pp. 67 ff), must be carefully distinguished since they are of quite different origins. The manuscript was apparently written at Echternach, an opinion which was fortified by Burnam's discovery (p. 4) of some Germanic marginal notes. In addition to heavily curtailed scholia from Lactantius Placidus, both Kohlmann and Burnam published "new" scholia from this manuscript (the latter including testimonia!), which are of course (cf. under Bambergensis MS. Class. 47 above) merely interpolations from other sources. Burnam attempted (pp. 5-6) to show that the archetype of this manuscript was an eighth century Visigothic manuscript, but his arguments really show no more than that some of the interpolations, those from Isidore, come from such a manuscript. This manuscript is illustrated and described in Chatelain's *Paléographie des Classiques latins*, Paris, 1884, plate CLXIII, was used for the note on I, 717 ff. by Cumont (*op. cit.*, II, 46), and was also occasionally cited by Jahnke, as Pc, in his edition. Cf. List H.

Perugia: Biblioteca (Comunale) Augusta, MS. C. 53 (170) (= c), dated 1399, written at the monastery of St. Peter, Perugia, is the commentary of Lactantius Placidus, although ascribed only to "Anonymus" in the heading.

Perugia: Biblioteca (Comunale) Augusta, MS. G.1 (412) (= G),

s. XV, also written at the monastery of St. Peter at Perugia. The text is very carelessly written and corrupt. This and the preceding manuscript once belonged to Franciscus Maturantius, who wrote one of the Renaissance commentaries on the *Achilleid* (cf. inf. Chapter IV, A).

Pistoia: Biblioteca Forteguerriana, MS. A, 45 (39) (= F), s. XIV, once owned by Sozomenus (cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, Vol. II, London and Leyden, 1967, p. 558). I have not seen this manuscript, but I do have photographs of Book III.

Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. C. 60 (= r), s. XV. This is a miscellaneous manuscript of which the commentary of Lactantius Placidus forms only a small part (the folia are unnumbered). The text, of which I collated III, 205-386 at Rome, is a carelessly copied *codex descriptus* of m.

Valenciennes: Bibliothèque municipale, Valentinianus 394 (olim 377) (= V), s. IX-X, our oldest source for the text of Lactantius Placidus, although, as will be seen later, by no means our best (cf. Funaioli's remarks on the relationships of this manuscript under Bambergensis MS. Class. 47 above). It contains (ff. 91a-124b) the commentary on the *Thebaid*, II, 281-II, 721, III, 205-IV, 584, V, 237-VI, 382 (404), VI, 887 (912)-XII, 676. It was used by Kohlmann in his smaller edition of 1887 (*Lactantii Placidi . . . , op. cit.*) and probably was given extensively in his notes, from which Jahnke only cites it once (to II, 595). Its first full report was by Funaioli (*Esegesi . . . , op. cit.*, pp. 444-508), and van de Woestijne ("Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 37-63) gives collations of IV, 445-548 and VI, 329-404. I have complete photographs of this manuscript, which I have not seen personally.

The provenance of the Valentinianus is probably St. Amand, since most of the early manuscripts of the Valenciennes library came to the library after the dissolution of this abbey in 1791. Confirmatory evidence, if not proof, can be derived from the inclusion of a manuscript of Lactantius Placidus in a twelfth century catalogue of the abbey (in Parisinus lat. 1850; cf. Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1868-81, Vol. II (1874), p. 454 (no. 199 on the list), originally with "Priscianus de duodecim primis versibus Eneidorum").

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 84 (= b), s. XV, was used by Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont (*op.*

cit., I, 226-7) in editing the note of Lactantius Placidus on IV, 515.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1694 (= A), s. X, was also used by Bidez and Cumont (*ibid.*, I, 226-7), who remark, parenthetically, that this is a manuscript "dont les Paris. 8063 et l'Urbinas 361" (which latter is mentioned no place else in the literature) "sont des dérivés", a statement which is true of the latter and false for the former. Cf. List F.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas lat. 361 (= U), s. XV. Cf. the previous note, and see also List F.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3381 (= R), s. XV.

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bibl. nat. MS. 3118 (= v), s. XV.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 54 (= K), s. XI, contains the *Thebaid* (beginning at I, 389) with marginal and interlinear scholia, together with an *Achilleid* without scholia or glosses. This manuscript was noted by Kohlmann (*Achilleid, op. cit.*, pp. ix-x), and cf. Klotz (*Thebaid, op. cit.*, pp. xxvi-xxviii). August Boeckh (*ed. maior* of Pindar, Leipzig, 1821, II, ii, 567, to his fr. 23 (ὕμνοι, fr. 19), on the scholium to *Thebaid* II, 85) quotes a reading *ex Gudiano*, which could refer to this manuscript or to one of the other Gudiani at Wolfenbüttel listed below.

In addition, G. Bezzola, "Un frammento di codice della Tebaide di Stazio", *Athenaeum* XVIII (1940), pp. 51-53, describes a fragment, s. X/XI, containing XI, 307-500 of the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes, found in a binding "in una biblioteca privata", with a text close to that of Lactantius Placidus, and gives a full collation. It contains only the following variants from Jahnke's text: 358 non perventurus senio; 391 adventum (*pro* eventum); 438 montes conlidi; 455 denuo renovare bellum (*pro* bellum instaurare); 473 *deficit.*

B. Manuscripts of doubtful value for the text of Lactantius Placidus

Cambridge: St. John's College, MS. D. 12 (the IV in Garrod is a mistake), s. X or XI, reported by H. W. Garrod, "The S. John's College (Cambridge) MS. of the *Thebaid*", *C.R.* XVIII (1904), pp. 38-42. His remark (p. 39) that the marginal notes are of little relevance seems substantially correct. Cf. also van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2, and Klotz, *Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. vi.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 70 (olim 374), s. XI. Kohlmann used this manuscript for his smaller edition of Lactantius Placidus (*Lactantii Placidi . . . , op. cit.*), without deriving any benefit from it. Cf. Klotz, *Thebaid, op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

London: British Museum, Arundel MS. 389, s. XIII in.

London: British Museum, Burney MS. 258, s. XIII. This and the two preceding manuscripts show the life of Statius, the "Quaeritur quo tempore," which is typical of the Italian vulgate.

London: British Museum, Royal MS. 15 C. X, s. X-XI, contains a few glosses and marginal and interlinear scholia, some of which are derived from Lactantius Placidus.

Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 10039 (formerly of the Biblioteca del Cabildo, Toledo), s. XI-XII, a fragment containing VIII, 739 to the end. Many of the notes are from the hand of a previous owner, Andreas Schott (who signed a note in this manuscript and dated it 1581): there are several old hands as well. Discovered by Félix Grat, and reported by him in "L'histoire des textes et les éditions critiques", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* XCIV (1933), p. 298; also cf. Boussard, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2, for an argument on this manuscript's value for the text of the *Thebaid.* I examined complete photographs of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, but have not seen it personally.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 13046, s. XI, from the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and formerly (and written at ?) Corbie. Noted by Kohlmann (*Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. ix) and by Klotz (*Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. xii). It seems to be of little value. There is a "Quaeritur quo tempore."

Zürich: Zentralbibliothek, MS. C. 62 (282), s. XII, lacking X, 415-617. Contains a "Quaeritur quo tempore".

C. *Manuscripts of other commentaries to the* Thebaid, *excluding that of Fulgentius Planciades and including condensed excerpts from Lactantius Placidus.*

Assisi: Biblioteca Comunale, MS. 302, ff. 6a-136a, s. XV. The *titulus* reads, "Incipiunt glose magistri Petri de Canephys de Parma super Thebaida," apparently a collection of glosses of a minor early Renaissance or late mediaeval teacher. The beginning suggests some relationship with the unknown commentaries in

Leyden, the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, Tübingen, and the British Museum (cf. below).

Breslau (now Wroclaw): University Library, Rehdigeriana R. 124 (116 folia), s. XIV or XV, bought by Rehdiger at Urbino, reported by Moritz Schmidt in *Philologus* XXIII (1866), pp. 541-547, a manuscript of the *Thebaid* with marginal notes supposedly from Lactantius Placidus with wide variations (which he did not give), also contained (f. 3 ff.) a short history of the Theban War, beginning, "Agenor rex Sidoniorum fuit . . ." and ending with the "Quaeritur quo tempore," which he published on pp. 542-544. He had the idea (p. 542) he was publishing the lost argument to Book I. (Cf. British Museum Burney MS. 257 and Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13 below, Lists C and D respectively). The manuscript was destroyed in World War II, according to a letter from the library dated 12. July 1963. The corrupt version of I, 480 in the scholia on the *Achilleid* (p. 544) is doubtless derived from Servius *ad Aen.* VI, 134.

Durham, N.C.: Duke University Library, from the library of the late Professor B. L. Ullman, Rare Book Section, No. 90, s. XV (ex. ?), 13 ff., containing a fragment of a commentary beginning, "Statius papinius a plerisque surculus cognominatus patriam suam parthenopem fuisse testatur ex patre gramatico celeberrimo . . .," and extending from I, 1-415. Professor Ullman very kindly sent this manuscript to me to examine in Cambridge.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. 842 (M III 2), ff. 1a-14b, 19b-38a, 39a-73b, 77a-106b in two columns, s. XV, an anonymous commentary, beginning, "In principio uniuscuiusque auctoris historiografi ut Servius testatur hec diligenter investiganda sunt", for which cf. the Leyden, British Museum, and Tübingen manuscripts, and on ff. 110a-114b, also in two columns, a fragment of another commentary, "Argos id est Grecos . . . usurpare."

Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, Fr. Augiense 139, s. XIV, from Reichenau, 4 ff. from a bookbinding, containing a commentary to VI, 424 (446)-772 (797) and VII, 83-315. Part of a mediaeval, elementary extended gloss. The manuscript is in very bad shape, with the text obliterated in various places both from staining and from fading, and with holes in all four folia.

Leyden: University Library, B.P.L. 191 A, ff. 214a-238a, s. XIII, from the library of the abbey of Saint-Jacques at Liège.

There are two columns to the page. The opening, "Que vita poete. Titulus operis. Qualitas carminis. Intentio scribentis . . . ," suggests a connection with Assisi MS. 302, British Museum Add. MS. 16380, Tübingen, MS. lat. fol. 34, and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 842, but this may, as it seems, be merely a standard formula for opening a commentary. I have made no effort to determine the relationships existent among these various unknown commentaries to Statius, since this work has been undertaken by Professor Paul M. Clogan of Case Western Reserve University for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* (under the general editorship of Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller).

London: British Museum, Burney MS. 257, s. XV, an *édition de luxe* of the *Thebaid*, contains on ff. 2a-4b a compendium to the *Thebaid*, and on 210b-222b a summary of the *Thebaid*, by chapters, both ascribed to Laurentius Campanus (for which cf. Vatican MS. Ottobonianus lat. 1475 below). Whether the division of the various books into chapters, which is very widespread in the margins of manuscripts of the *Thebaid*, originated with Laurentius Campanus, I do not know. Otto Müller, in *Quaestiones Statianae*, Progr. des Gymnasiums zum grauen Kloster, Berlin, 1861, p. 7, thought that Laurentius Campanus, whom he identified with the scribe of this manuscript, had the lost argument to Book I (for which cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13) before him, and Müller copied the first 17 lines of this from it. Cf. also lists G and H.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2693, s. XV, contains, among other things, ff. 5a-40b, "Excerpta ex Lactantio Placido super Statii Thebaida" (Books I-VIII only: the scribe notes on f. 40b that he had no copy of the last four books), which are not *verbatim*, but rather *secundum sensum*, and on ff. 41a-45b "Excerpta ex incognito Expositore Statii Thebaidos" (Books I-IV only), a very elementary work.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 16380, ff. 144a-179a (in two columns), s. XIII. Written in England. The beginning, "In principio uniuscuiusque actoris historiographi v̊ cuius historia investiganda diligenter indicantur. Vita poete. Titulus operis. Qualitas carminis. Intentio scribentis . . ." seems to indicate some connection with Assisi MS. 302, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. 842, Tübingen MS. lat. fol. 34, and Leyden MS. B.P.L. 191A. See List G.

Marburg: Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kultur-

besitz (formerly Westdeutsche Bibliothek), Ms. lat. 4°. 228, 37 ff., in two columns, except for the last, s. XI, beginning at II, 700 and lacking Books VIII-IX, and parts of Books VII and X, from the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt. I have not examined this manuscript, which is headed "Scholia in Statii Thebaidem," *in situ*, but examination of a microfilm of Book III showed that it is an unknown commentary, and not Lactantius Placidus. (The Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, (East) Berlin, has protested the retention of various manuscripts of the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, of which it is the successor, in Marburg and Tübingen, and claims that they are still part of its collection.)

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. H 66 Inf., s. XIV, a miscellaneous manuscript, containing, among other works, a short epitome to Statius. I have not seen this: the reference is from Kristeller (*op. cit.*).

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 14420, ff. 73a-78a (in two columns), s. XIII, from the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram at Regensburg, contains condensed excerpts from Lactantius Placidus, with some interpolations. Perhaps these were drawn from the margin of some manuscript of the *Thebaid*. This may be the third of the three Munich manuscripts used in Unger (*op. cit.*), which Wölfflin (*op. cit.*, p. 156) could not identify.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 7936, ff. 80b-81a, 140 a-b, contains the compendium of Laurentius Campanus, somewhat condensed. Cf. List D.

Tübingen: Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Depot der Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. fol. 34, ff. 86a-114a, in two columns, s. XIII (in. ?), contains "Glossae in Statii Thebaida", beginning, "principio uniuscuiusque actoris hystoriographi ut servius testatur haec diligenter inquirenda iudicantur. Vita poete. Tytulus operis. Intentio scribentis . . ." Cf. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS. 842, Leyden MS. B.P.L. 191A, and British Museum Add. MS. 16380. I have examined photographs of Book III of this manuscript, which I have not seen personally. Cf. Marburg in List C above.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro H. 15, f. 1a, dated 1342, and written at Bologna, contains a curious short prose introduction giving the usual *qualitas*, *materia*, *nomen auctoris*, and so on, ending with the life of Statius, including the statement, "Fuit etiam doctus in theologia et clarus ingenio". Cf. List D.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1475, ff. 23a-38a, s. XII ex. This manuscript contains, on 23a-36a, a compendium of the *Thebaid*, divided into chapters, and on 36b-38b a note on the myth of the *Thebaid*, both in the same hand. On 36a is a note in this same hand, "librorum duodecim parcialium (?) thebaidos iuxta eorum singula capitula summatim intelligencie expliciunt feliciter. laurencius", after which there is a note in another hand, "cuius aīē propicietur creator omnium rerum deus. Ch. (?) Bete Virgne. Ω." On 38a, at the end of the work, is also the word "Laurencius" in the same hand as the text, followed by the note, "a. (?) bete virgne n (?)," in still a third hand. In addition, on 36b there is the heading, "Copendium" (*sic*) "super stacium archilleydos" (*sic*!) "ab eodem laurencio," not in the same hand as the text. The compendium is, of course, that of Laurentius Campanus, and this manuscript would seem to be the autograph. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1375, ff. 1a-7a, 8a-b, 140a-141a, s. XV. On 1a-7a is the compendium of Laurentius Campanus, on 8a-b a note on the division into books and chapters and the beginning of the work, and on 140a-141a a short, standard introduction to a commentary, beginning "In principio . . . ," which contains the curious remark that Statius had three names because he was a nobleman. Cf. List D.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3279, s. XV. A *Thebaid*, with a life of Statius on 1a-2a and, in the margins, many scholia (and some interlinear glosses) written and apparently composed by Pomponius Laetus.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. XII, 61 (= 4097), s. XV, is a very full commentary to the *Thebaid*, extending only as far as IV, 414, and ending at the bottom of 58a, so that it was presumably a copy of an earlier manuscript. There is a note on f. 65b (misnumbered 71, due to a confusion between 62 and 68), that the manuscript was written by D. Petrus Montagnana and given to the monastery of S. Johannes Baptista de Viridaria in Padua, and dated 1478, which establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the date. The commentary, which is headed "Scriptum super Statio thebaydos," is very full, and contains the standard late mediaeval opening and extended glosses. The *autoris intentio*, curiously enough, which is usually given in such works as to prevent Titus and Domitian from engaging in civil war by showing them the example of Eteocles and Polynices, is here said to be to call back to

mind the memory of the Theban War which was almost forgotten on account of the passage of time.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 319[b] Helmst., ff. 1a-2a, dated 1454, contains a short commentary beginning with a genealogy of the characters of the Theban War. Cf. Lists D, G, and H.

D. *Manuscripts of the* Thebaid *with marginal and/or interlinear glosses and/or scholia of no value for the text of Lactantius Placidus*

Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, M 86 (olim Lat. No. 72 (anc. 129)), s. XIII, lacking I, 189-588 and XII, 692 to the end.

Assisi: Biblioteca Comunale, MS. 306, ff. 1a-147b, s. XV, with no scholia or glosses after f. 129.

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 156, ff. 1a-88a, s. XI-XII, also containing an unannotated *Achilleid*. This manuscript, which once belonged to Pierre Daniel, is discussed (without mention of the notes) by Klotz, *Thebaid, op. cit.*, pp. xiv-xvii.

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek MS. 407, ff. 1a-136b, s. XII, ends at XI, 610.

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 528, ff. 2a-84b, s. XII, ending at XI, 517 on the middle of f. 84b, with gaps in the text at IV, 386-V, 316, V, 349-355, V, 389-VI, 17, VI, 476-636, IX, 404-868, and X, 193-520, caused by missing or cut out folia, others being cut away, with various losses of text and scholia. The scholia and glosses extend only up to 43b, there being none after VII, 11.

Cambridge: University Library, MS. Ii. III. 13 (1777), s. XIV ex., in an Italian hand (according to Ullman in the article by Clogan cited below), contains on 1a a ten-line note on the intention of the author, on 2a a "Quaeritur quo tempore", and on 1b, among other verses, a twelve-line metrical argument to Book I, which Paul M. Clogan, in "An Argument of Book I of Statius' *Thebaid*," in "Notes and Comments," *Manuscripta* VII (1963), pp. 30-31 (who gives a collation, but N.B.: line 9 read "per" for "par" and line 10 read "hospitio" for "hospitaio"), considered the lost argument to Book I, mentioned by Lactantius Placidus in his note to I, 61. It should, however, be noted that the argument to Book I referred to was clearly in prose, such as are found to the remaining eleven books, and that the metrical arguments are most probably ***not*** by Lactantius Placidus. For attempts to identify this prose, cf. the notes to Brussels MS. 5337 (List E), Breslau MS. Redhi-

geriana R. 124 (List C), and British Museum Burney MS. 257 (List C); other verse arguments are found in British Museum Harleian MS. 2498 (eight lines; List D) (the same metrical argument occurs in Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, MS. 41 (List D)); the Vatican Library, Archivio di S. Pietro, MS. H. 15 (six lines; List D); and (perhaps the same argument as that published by Clogan) Antwerp MS. M 93 (twelve lines; List E). The text extends only to XII, 664. There are marginal scholia and interlinear glosses throughout in at least three later hands.

Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, MS. 230, s. XII. The folia are not numbered and many are clipped.

Cambridge: Peterhouse, MS. 228 (now in the University Library), s. XII ex./XIII in.

Cambridge: Trinity College, MS. o. 9. 12 (1424), s. XIII in. to IX, 649, s. XIII after IX, 649. There are at least three hands in the glosses and scholia.

Copenhagen: Royal Library, Gl. kgl. S. 2026 4to, s. XIII in.

Copenhagen: Royal Library, Gl. kgl. S. 2027 4to, s. XII.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aed. 197, s. XII.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1032, s. XIV, from Santa Maria di Monteoliveto. It was stolen by Guglielmo Libri, who sold it to Lord Ashburnham.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 18 sin. 4, s. XV or XIV ex. A *terminus ante quem* is established by the note on f. 115b which states that the book was formerly "ad usum Fratris Thebaldi de Casa quem vivens assignavit armario Fratrum Minorum Florentiae conventus. 1406."

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38,3, dated 1410, written at Siena.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38,4, s. XII.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 5, begun s. XII, finished s. XV, covering I, 46 to the end.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 7, begun s. XII, finished s. XV.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, S. Marco 241, dated 1361, written at the Augustinian monastery at Florence. It was later owned by Niccolò Niccoli, who gave it to the Dominican Monastery of S. Marco at Florence.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 130, s. XIII. Cf. List A.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palat. 108, ff. 89, 90, s. XI, two fragments containing respectively XI, 186-234 and XI, 533-556, 558-581.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. II. 55 (olim Magl. Cl. VII. 1017), s. XIV med. (scholia and glosses in at least two hands of s. XIV ex.). Contains on f. 122b a "Quaeritur quo tempore" of s. XV. The manuscript was apparently originally part of a larger manuscript, since the numeration of folia begins at 122.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. II. 78 (olim Magl. Cl. VII. 321), written 1384 at Florence.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, Ricc. 547 (olim M. IV. XIV), s. XII ex. Ends at XII, 526.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, Ricc. 931 (olim M. III. VII), ff. 53a-54b (a fragment containing I, 1-107), s. XV.

Geneva: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS. Lat. No. 96, s. XII-XIII. Contains relatively full, but extremely corrupt, scholia at places.

Leyden: University Library, B.P.L. 136 K, ff. 16a-128a, s. XIII. Also contains (f. 14b) a "Quaeritur quo tempore". Cf. List H.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 14, s. XV. Cf. List H.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 16, s. XIV.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 67, s. XIII.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 79, ff. 1a-96b, s. XIII, ending at XII, 220.

Leyden: University Library, Vossianus lat. Q. 114, s. XIII, containing relatively many marginal scholia, all very corrupt.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2463, s. XIV (a manuscript note in the *Class Catalogue* says s. XIII-XIV).

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2474, s. XV, containing only a very few marginal and interlinear glosses in the first half of the manuscript.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2498, dated 1462, written at Vicenza. Contains, on f. 1b, an eight-line metrical argument to Book I (cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13 above and Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, MS. 41 below).

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2608, s. XIII, once at the college at Agen.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2636, s. XIII. Contains, on f. 108b, a "Quaeritur quo tempore". Notes only to Books I-III.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2665, s. XIII (a manuscript note in the *Class Catalogue* says written in Germany s. XII).

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2720, s. XII. The last part of the text, ff. 70b-85b, is in two columns.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 4869, s. XV. Cf. List G.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 5296, ff. 1a-85a, s. XIII, ff. 85b-100a, s. XV. There are no scholia or glosses in the newer part of the manuscript, beginning at XI, 306.

London: British Museum, Royal MS. 15 A. XXI, s. XIII in.

London: British Museum, Royal MS. 15 A. XXIX, s. XIII, ending at XI, 140.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 11995, ff. 24a-166b, s. XIV-XV, containing (f. 23a) a "Quaeritur quo tempore". Cf. List H.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 11996, s. XV. Cf. List H.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. H. 21 Inf. Latinus, dated 1416.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. M. 60 Sup. Latinus, s. XV. Cf. List H.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. P. 53 Sup. Latinus, ff. 1a-79a, s. XIV, ending at VI, 804. That the manuscript ends on a recto seems to imply that the archetype was truncated.

Monte Cassino: Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS. 395 P, ff. 1a-218a, s. XIV, ending at XI, 352. I saw partial photographs of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, and was able to reject the manuscript from these and the description there, which states that there is only one long scholium (on Zoroaster), on f. 50, one which is not derived from Lactantius Placidus.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 11050, s. XV, from Passau.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 19481, s. XIII, from Tegernsee. Cf. Klotz, *Thebaid*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxx, who does not mention the notes.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 29010, s. XI-XIV. This consists of 29 folia of various manuscripts, some of which contain notes, so cut into and fragmentary that nothing can be made of them.

Naples: Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," MS. IV. E 44 (Borbon. 244), s. XI-XII, containing some glosses, mainly on ff. 1a-4a.

Naples: Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," MS. IV. E 45 (Borbon. 245), dated 1472.

New Haven: Yale University Library, MS. 166, s. XV, a manuscript of the *Thebaid* with full marginal glosses, paraphrasing and epitomizing the poem, and some insignificant interlinear glosses. This manuscript, from the David Wagstaff collection, was formerly MS. 9089 in the Philipps collection at Cheltenham, England.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 74, ff. 1a-102b, s. XIV ex., omitting XII, 22-185 and 349 to the end.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 79, s. XIV.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. D'Orville 25 (= Auct. X.. 1 1.25), dated 1464, written in Italy.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson G. 114, ff. 1a-63a, s. XIII, ending at VIII, 592.

Oxford: Corpus Christi College, MS. Lat. LVIII (now in the Bodleian Library), s. XIII ex.

Oxford: Magdalen College, MS. Lat. XVIII, ff. 1a-124b, s. XII, ending at XII, 746, ff. 125 and 126 being cut away. There are rather full marginal scholia, often of the same content as Lactantius Placidus, but strongly rewritten. This manuscript is mentioned, and some readings from it are given, in Garrod's article (*op. cit.*, p. 41), but is not contained in the bibliography of van de Woestijne ("Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2).

Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana, Scaff. I, cod. 6, dated 1431.

Padua: Biblioteca Universitaria, MS. 233, dated 1463. I examined partial photographs of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Cf. List H.

Padua: Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, MS. 41, s. XIV, containing, on f. (1)a (an unnumbered folio, and a verso, since the numeration of folia in this manuscript is by opened pages), the eight-line argument to Book I found also in the British Museum Harleian MS. 2498 (cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13). This manuscript, formerly owned by Facciolati, in which Sabbadini noted various Veronan abbreviations (cf. Landi, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318), was discussed at length by Landi in the article just noted (*ibid.*, pp. 315-340), who found (p. 320, n. 1) only two readings in it (both obviously conjectures) which he thought worthy of consideration. He observes in this article that many of the scholia come from Albericus (*Vat. Myth.* III).

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 7936, ff. 81a-140a (two columns), s. XIII. Cf. List C.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8053, s. XII, once belonging to Colbert.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8054, s. XII, scholia s. XV.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8057, s. XII, once belonging to Colbert.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8058, s. XII or XIII, once belonging to J. A. de Thou, then to Colbert.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8059, s. XIII, ending XII, 769, from Saint-Victor de Paris.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8060, s. XIII, ending XII, 501, once belonging to Colbert.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8061, s. XIV, once belonging to the House of Sforza of Milan.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8280, s. XIII or XIV, written in Italy. It once belonged to Colbert. Cf. van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2. Cf. List H.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8468, s. XII, ending XII, 523.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 14139, s. XII-XIII, beginning at I, 73. Contains (1a) a "Quaeritur quo tempore"-

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 16694, s. XIII?, en. ding XII, 784, from the Sorbonne, which received it from Cardinal de Richelieu. Cf. van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1627 (= Libri 24), ff. 1a-57b (two columns), s. XI. One of the manuscripts once stolen by Libri. On f. 57b there is the note, "Est Sancti Petri de Perusio", undoubtedly a false attribution by Libri, who often used these words to camouflage his thefts. It is of Italian provenance, but came from Saint-Martin de Tours. This is the manuscript at Tours mentioned by Haenel (cited below, List K); cf. Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits disparus de la Bibliothèque de Tours pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle," *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* XXXI, pt. I (1884), pp. 280-2. Cf. van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2.

Perugia: Biblioteca (Comunale) Augusta, MS. C. 63 (180), s. XV ex. Cf. List H.

Perugia: Biblioteca (Comunale) Augusta, MS. H. 53 (568), s. XIII. Wessner, *J.A.W.* CXXXIX (1908), p. 187, notes a "Perusi-

nus 453", but says he is unable to give the source of his reference. It is apparently a *Schreibfehler* for this manuscript.

Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. B. 30, s. XIV. Contains (f. 1a) a "Quaeritur quo tempore". Cf. List H.

Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. C. 97, s. XIII.

Sankt-Gallen: Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 865, pp. 3-193 (numbered by side, not by folia) (lacking IV, 578-VII, 30), s. XII. The fault must have been in the archetype, since, at the break, the bottom half of 70 (a verso) and all of 71 are blank.

Toulouse: Bibliothèque communale, MS. 808, s. XII. I examined a complete microfilm of this work at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro H. 15, ff. 2a-168b, dated 1342, and written by one Johannes Bertus de Foroiulii while a student at Bologna. There are no scholia or glosses after f. 79b (the last is to VI, 759). On 1b there is a six-line verse introduction to Book I (cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13). Cf. List C.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 74, s. XII (or XIII ?). Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 106, s. XIII.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus H. VI. 209, s. XII (or XIII ?), ending at XII, 711.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus H. VI. 210, s. XIV.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus H. VIII. 272, ff. 29b-141a, s. XV. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus H. VIII. 273, s. XIV ex., beginning at I, 45.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1977, s. XII ex.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1688, ff. 2a-52a, s. XIV, containing marginal and interlinear notes to ff. 2a-8a only.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1690, s. XIV, with marginal and interlinear notes and glosses through X, 896.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1692,

ff. 3a-154a, s. XV, written by Guaspar Dominicus Guardus de Larciano the notary while a student at Florence.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1693, ff. 1a-149a, s. XV, once belonging to one Angelus Laurentius.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1717, ff. 47b-133b, before 1214, ending at VI, 707.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1375, ff. 9a-139a, s. XV. Cf. List C.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1713 (olim 1680), s. XV.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossianus 536 (olim IX, 226), ff. 9a-78b (renumbered 1-60), s. XII (?), containing I, 563-III, 204, III, 341-V, 40, V, 51-74, V, 85-VI, 420, VII, 10-552 only.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossianus 930 (olim XI. 80), ff. 1a-98b, s. XV, containing II, 5-IV, 831, V, 117-548, V, 691-X, 762 only, with scholia and glosses ending on 53a, at the end of the argument to Book VII.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 1615, s. XIV-XV.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 1616, s. XII.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 1617, ff. 1a-120b, s. XII ex. A piece of about one-third of the height of the last folio (which should have ended around XII, 772) has been torn out, and many margins clipped. Glosses and scholia are found on 1a-28a and 32a only: they are in many hands, and some of them are in Old French.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3278, s. XIII. Omits II, 678-III, 185.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3280, s. XII.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 52, s. XIV. Given in van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2, from the notice in Kohlmann's edition of the *Achilleid*, *op. cit.*, p. xii. Cf. List H.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 146, s. XV. Contains (f. 1b) a (rewritten) "Quaeritur quo tempore'.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 319^{b},

Helmst. (354), ff. 1a (numbering begins again)-209b, dated 1454. Cf. Lists C, G, and H.

Zürich: Zentralbibliothek, MS. Rh. 53 (420), pp. 1-95 (numbered by page, not by folium; two columns), s. XI-XII, from Rheinau. Contains (p. 96) a "Quaeritur quo tempore".

E. Manuscripts related to the Thebaid *not seen, or which deserve more attention*

Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS. M 93 (olim Lat. No. 76 (anc. 88)), s. XIII. This had been sent to Brussels to be photographed when I was in Antwerp. I have examined partial photographs at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, but the photographs did not contain enough of the text for me to form a judgment. It contains the *Thebaid* on ff. 1a-131b, and on a half-folium preceding the text there are twelve verses of the "Continencia libri primi" (cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13 above).

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Hamiltonianus 609, 106 ff., s. XI.

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Hamiltonianus 610, "Statii Opera cum glossis et commentario," the whole in 97 folia, s. XIV. Cf. List I.

Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 5337, s. XI, from the abbey of St. Peter at Gembloux, a manuscript of the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes. Cf. Leroy, *R.B.Ph.* XII (1933), p. 873, the report of a paper given before the Société pour le Progrès des Études philologiques, Section de Philologie classique, on a note on f. 1a in a sixteenth century hand, which he claimed might (on rhythmical and stylistic grounds) be the lost prose argument of Lactantius Placidus to Book I, mentioned in I, 61, which contains a version of the myth otherwise found only in the *Oedipus* of Seneca (cf. Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. III. 13 above). Leroy is almost certainly mistaken, and the argument is most likely a Renaissance composition. The citation is also incorrect: my examination of photographs of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes showed that f. 1a contains only a life of Statius and the verse argument beginning, "Associat profugum . . . ," while there is a note on f. 2b which seemed to be what he speaks of here. (Forms part of the same manuscript as MS. 5338; cf. List H below).

Carpentras: Bibliothèque municipale, MS, 369 (L. 365), s. XIV, beginning at II, 214. I examined microfilms of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, but the microfilms were so bad I could not substantiate my impression that the marginal scholia were of no value. Cf. List I below.

Cesena: Biblioteca Malatestiana, pl. XX, c. 6, s. XIV, mentioned in Landi, *op. cit.*, p. 316, n. 3.

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS. Dc 156, containing two manuscripts of the *Thebaid*, one s. XIII to IX, 825, s. XIV afterwards, the other s. XIII or earlier, both from Nienburg. Max Manitius, *Rh.M.* LVII (1902), pp. 397-421 discussed this manuscript (on pp. 398-399 he gives the pagination and contents of the two manuscripts, which are rather complex), and published many "new" scholia from it, from which, however, in the end, he admitted (p. 421) only fifteen (whose sources he did not bother to check) could not have been derived from the context, five from one manuscript, ten from the other. Unfortunately, he printed none of the scholia derived from Lactantius Placidus, so it is impossible to judge their fullness or integrity. This manuscript survived the Second World War, and I have examined microfilms of the sections of Book III in each manuscript, which show that for Book III this manuscript contains no significant scholia. Whether it might for other books, I cannot say.

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland (formerly of the Faculty of Advocates') MS. 18. 5. 12, s. XII, from Dover Priory. I examined partial photographs at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, which show that the notes for Book II on are very scattered and rewritten, while ff. 1a and 7b, the beginning and end of Book I, all of it that the Institut has, contain long notes which appear to be fairly good versions of Lactantius Placidus.

Escorial: Real Biblioteca, MS. f. III. 11, ff. 1a-135b, s. XIV. Cf. List I.

Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek, MS. L. II (Rep. I, 12), s. XI, a *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes. This manuscript was mentioned by Klotz, *Thebaid*, *op. cit.*, pp. xix-xxiii. The marginal scholia are supposed to be quite full in Books I and II, and thereafter to grow rarer. An examination of Book III on microfilm showed that this book contained no scholia full enough to be of any value for the text in this section.

Prague: Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, MS. 1485 (M. CXXIV),

s. XIII, consisting of the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes.

Prague: Universitní Knihovna, MS. 1649 (VIII. H. 31) (Y. I. 1. n. 109), s. XII, consisting of the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes.

Siena: Biblioteca Comunale, MS. H. VIII. 62 (75), s. XIV, consisting of the *Thebaid* with marginal and interlinear notes. Noted by van de Woestijne, "Le Codex Valentinianus . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2, from a catalogue of the Latin classical manuscripts of the Siena collection, published in *Stud. ital. di filol. class.* XI (1903), p. 427. The citation seems to be wrong, and I was not able to locate this manuscript in the library at Siena.

In addition, the article by Paul M. Clogan ("Medieval Glossed Manuscripts of the *Thebaid*," *Manuscripta* XI (1967), pp. 102-112) mentioned previously adds the following two manuscripts (excluding those containing only metrical arguments), *Prague*, Universitní Knihovna, MS. VIII. H. 11 and *Wolfenbüttel*, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Extravagantes 265.4, 8°, s. XIV. The reference to *Vatican*: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1689, s. XIII is mistaken: this manuscript contains no scholia or glosses.

F. *Manuscripts of the commentary to the* Achilleid *sometimes ascribed to Lactantius Placidus*

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 19482, ff. 139a-144a, s. XI-XII (= M), used by Jahnke. Cf. List A.

Naples: Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, MS. CVI (Pil. X, n° XXXIII), ff. 156a-162a, dated 1478 (=N). This manuscript, the Urbinas lat. 361, and the Palatinus lat. 1694, of which the first two are copies (cf. p. 62 below), are sometimes referred to as "fragments". The texts do end in the middle of a sentence, but they contain the full text of the other manuscripts, followed by a corrupted repetition of parts of the scholia to lines 444 and 472. Apparently the scribe of A or of the exemplar of A stopped immediately when the error was noted. Cf. List A.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8040, ff. 137a-140b, s. XI (= P). Used for Deubner's edition of Statius with notes and commentaries of 1835 or 1837 (cf. Chapter IV, A below). In the margin of an *Achilleid*, from 137a-153a, there is this section, containing the commentary down to line 239 (I have omitted this

manuscript from List H below, since it contains in addition only some interlinear glosses on 137a).

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1694, ff. 70a-72b, s. X (=A). Cf. List A.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas lat. 361, ff. 133a-138b, s. XV (= U). This manuscript was noted in the list of Jannaccone (*op. cit.*). Cf. List A.

In addition, if, as he claims (p. 512), Lindenbrog in his edition of 1600 did print this commentary without emendation from the (lost) Codex Pithoeanus, this text would also have the value of a manuscript (= L).

G. *Manuscripts of other commentaries to the* Achilleid

Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS. M 85 (olim Lat. No. 71 (anc. 127)), ff. 1a-18a, 43a-44a, s. XIII, from the monastery of Saint-Jacques, Liège. Contains on ff. 1a-18a very full marginal scholia (of s. XIV), beginning, "*Magna.* Magnanimus fuit quia voluit interficere agamemnona propter briseida amicam suam et quia hectora interfecit . . . ," and on 43a-44a (in two columns, 44 being a small slip inserted, containing nine lines only) some glosses, preceded by a short note beginning, "Domicianus rogavit stacium quod eius facta describeret sed prius hoc opus scripsit ad se excusandum . . ."

Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS. M 357 (olim Lat. 125 (anc. 128)), s. XIII, containing on 1a-21b an *Achilleid* with a few interlinear glosses and abundant marginal scholia, beginning, "Nota est fabula. Cum hecuba gravida esset . . ." (4 lines). "In principio huius auctoris quatuor sunt inquirenda . . ."

Assisi: Biblioteca Comunale, MS. 309, ff. 75a-94b (in two columns), s. XV, a long commentary, beginning "Casualis eventus non variat . . . ," (cf. British Museum Add. MS. 10095 below), containing all the standard elements of such commentaries: a list of the "inquirenda," a life of Statius, a long summary of the myth (rather entertaining, and sometimes rather racy), a note on the nine organs required to produce speech (in a note on Calliope and the nine Muses), and so on. There are not many lemmata, but each one becomes the occasion for a tirade.

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 411, 7, ff. 154a-155b (two columns), s. XII/XIII, consisting of mere glosses, usually of only one word.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 10, ff. 1b-26b,

dated 1394, written at San Gimignano. This manuscript of the *Achilleid* has only a few lines of text at a time, engulfed in a flood of marginal commentary, which gradually recedes from f. 19 on. There are also full interlinear glosses from f. 11a. The commentary is written in the same form as Parisinus 8559, and has the same beginning (as does the short "Expositio . . . Achileidos" on f. 200b of British Museum Add. MS. 10095).

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 66, s. XIII, containing (ff. 1a-16b), "Glossae super Achilleidos libros Statii," beginning, "In principio huius auctoris qui est praecipuus inter libros scolasticos plura sunt inquirenda . . ."

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 143, ff. 1a-5a (two columns), s. XIII ?, containing glosses to the *Achilleid* beginning, "More antiquorum in principio cuiusque libri VII. inquiruntur . . ." Before 1887 this formed part of Gronovianus lat. 70 (List B).

London: British Museum, Burney MS. 257, ff. 225a-226a, s. XV, containing the compendium to the *Achilleid* ascribed to Laurentius Campanus (but not found in Vatican MS. Ottobonianus lat. 1475), beginning, "Magnanimum eacidem. formidatamque tonanti. et cetera.————Iste est initialis versus libelli papinii sursuli tholosani poete laureati, qui achilleis inscribitur; ad intelligentiam dicendorum in illo sciendum est, quod post occasum Titi, qui romani imperii habenas moderatus est, ad illud successit domitianus; hic Christiane fidei et gentis ecclesiastice primum persecutionem furiata mente constituit. Hijs diebus liberalium artium studio plurimum rome florente. Is poeta celebris fame habitus est . . ." Cf. Lists C and H.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 4869, f. 151a, s. XV, a fragment, beginning, "Magnanimum eacidem. Quis fuerat auctor quaere in principio huius voluminis. Scripsit ultra libros xii. thebaidos hunc librum achilleidos quem distinxit in quinque libros in quo describit achillis infantiam . . ." Cf. List D.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 10090, f. 8a-b (two columns), s. XIV, a fragment, beginning, "In presentis libri primordia sunt hec quin. (?) specialiter inquirenda. s. quis auctor que materia que scribent is intentio que utilitas quis titulus. Actor siquid istius operis fuit stacius qui in tempore domiciani Romanorum principis in poetica sua fuit commendatissimus . . ." Cf. List H.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 10095, ff. 200b, 202a-227b (Jannaccone's statement in the introduction to her edition (*op.*

cit., p. 7) that this commentary extends from 122 to 227 is a misreading of the catalogue), s. XV, containing on f. 200b (one column) an "Expositio . . . Achileidos," beginning, "Notandum est quod Domitianus imperator Vespesiani (*sic*) filius videns Statium opus Thebaidos feliciter consumasse ipsum rogabat quatenus sua fortia facta describeret . . . " (for which cf. Laurentian MS. plut. 38, 10 and Parisinus 8559), and on ff. 202a-227b (two columns), a commentary beginning, "(C)asualis eventus non variat quod celestis consilii altitudo disposuit . . . ," (for which cf. Assisi MS. 309). Cf. List H.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 16380, s. XIII, contains on ff. 128a-143b an *Achilleid* with very long marginal and interlinear notes, and no formal prologue. Cf. List C.

Modena: Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 331 (Alpha F 8, 15), s. XV, ff. 9a-21b in two columns, "Commentum Statii Achilleidos editum sub doctissimo viro Francischo Fidelfo" (*sic*, for the humanist Franciscus Philelphus) "et in primis de vita ipsius poete," beginning, "Sicud dicit Servius in commentario Virgilii in exponendis auctoribus . . ." The reference to this manuscript, which I have not seen, is from Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* I.

Naples: Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," MS. IV. E 46 (Borbon. 246), ff. 4a-17b, s. XIV, containing the *Achilleid* with copious marginal and interlinear notes. The manuscript once belonged to the humanist Parrhasius, who acquired it at Padua. It was published by Feliciano Speranza, *Atti Accad. Pontaniana* (Naples) VII (1957), pp. 129-164 and VIII (1958), pp. 49-88, in the form of an elaborate edition. The text is, however, patently worthless.

Naples: Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," MS. V. F 21, f. 50b, s. XV, "Statii Achilleidos glose," beginning, "Liber iste intitulatur Statius achilleydos. Statius nomen auctoris est, liber achilleydos, id est, opus factum de achille."

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 72, dated 1274, contains an *Achilleid*, (ff. 1a-19b), written in a column down the middle of each page, with very full glosses and scholia on each side, beginning, "*Magna eaci.* magnanimus est ille qui agredienda non evitat ut timidus . . ." (for which cf. Vatican MSS. Reginensis lat. 1556 and Vaticanus lat. 1663 below), and, on 19b, a six-line note beginning, "In principio huius libri considerandus est quae sit materia operis, quae sit actoris intencio in hoc opere, quae sit libri utilitas, quis sit titulus . . ."

Oxford: Lincoln College, MS. Lat. XXVII (now in the Bodleian

Library), s. XI/XII, contains on f. 62a-b (two columns) a fragment, beginning, "Quis sit auctor huius libri, que materia, que scribentis intentio . . ." Cf. List H.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8207, ff. 83a-90b, s. XIV, containing "Glose Stacii parvi," beginning, "[I]n principio huius libri considerandum est que sit materia operis . . ."

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8559, ff. 32a-50b, s. XIII, contains an *Achilleid*, written in the form of, and with much the same beginning as, Laurentian MS. plut 38, 10, and in addition full interlinear glosses. The marginal scholia begin, "*Magnanimum* etc.(?) In principio huius actoris notandum est quod domicianus imperator romanus vapasiani" (*sic*) "filius videns statium opus tebaidos feliciter consummasse . . . ," for which cf. also British Museum Add. MS. 10095. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 41, f. 50b, s. XIII, a fragment much like those described above. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1261, ff. 7a-8a, s. XV, a full Renaissance life of Statius and history of the *Achilleid*, followed on 8b-22b by an *Achilleid* interspersed among marginal scholia also of Renaissance origin. Cf. the following manuscript and List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 2027, ff. 1a-6b, s. XVII, patently a *codex descriptus* of the above. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1695, ff. 24a-34a (the unpublished catalogue is in error in continuing the commentary to f. 38b; in between there is a commentary on the *Eclogues* of Vergil, but on 38b, among other notes, there are the words, "Explicit liber statius achilledos" (*sic*)), s. XV, contains a commentary beginning, "Domicianus quidam romanus imperator statium rogavit gesta sua describere . . ." There is also, at the bottom of ff. 3b-4a, a short note beginning, "Stacius rogatus a domiciano nobili (*sic*!) romano . . . ," also containing the plot of the *Achilleid*. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1556 (olim 1733), ff. 56a-75a, s. XIII, containing on f. 74b a life of Statius and a short note beginning, "In principio huius libri . . . ," on 75b another short note beginning with the same words, and on 56a-74b the *Achilleid* with full marginal scholia and inter-

linear glosses, beginning, "*Magnanimum eaci.* Magnanimus est ille qui aggredienda non evitat. . . ." for which cf. Bodleian MS. Canonicianus Class. Lat. 72 above and Vaticanus lat. 1663 below.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1828, ff. 192a-308b, s. XV, containing a *Commentum super Statium Achilleidos*, consisting of glosses without a *Vita*. Cf. List H.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas lat. 363, ff. 101a-103a, dated 1462, containing a "Statii Compendium Achilleidos", with a life of Statius, the "intentio", "materia", and so on, the tale of the Trojan War, and then the division into five books with a summary of each, ending at 103a, with, "habes, domine cambi, pollicitam libri presentis intentionem summariam que licet compendiose narrata tibi tuum aperiet intellectum," with the signature of the scribe, "per me Baptistam Masci (?) de Tuderto."

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 1663, ff. 37b-56b, s. XIII ex., containing the *Achilleid* with extensive marginal notes beginning, "Magnanimus ille qui agredienda non evitat . . ." (for which cf. Bodleian MS. Canonicianus Class. Lat. 72 and Vatican MS. Reginensis Lat. 1556 above), followed at the end by a brief (paragraph) *Vita* and a two-paragraph "In principio investigandum. . ." I examined the manuscript on microfilm at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. 541 (= 1560), s. XIV, contains on the first unnumbered folium 8 lines beginning "Materia stacii est in hoc opere suo thetis et achilles . . . ," followed by 2 lines on the names of the Muses, 5 lines on the human voice and the apparatus which produces it, and 10 longer and 10 shorter lines, beginning, "In principio huius auctoris quatuor inquirenda sunt. s. intencio scribentis, materia, utilitas, titulus. de hoc propositiones ordine videamus . . ." Cf. List H.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 13. 10. Aug. 4to (cod. Aug. 3035), ff. 142a-157a, dated 1270, containing the Achilleid with full marginal scholia in both margins (as well as some interlinear glosses), in a different hand from that of the text, but a contemporary one, beginning "In praesentis libri primordia sunt . . ."

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 292.2 (4599), s. XIII and XIV, containing on ff. 6a-42a the

Achilleid with full scholia, beginning, "In principio huius auctoris, qui est praecipuus inter libros scholasticos, plura sunt inquirenda..." These were published verbatim by Johann Christopher Dommerich, in *Ad. P. Papinii Statii Achilleida ex Membranis Bibliothecae Suae Anecdota,* Wolfenbüttel, 1758, from which these transcriptions (as far as I could check, extremely accurate) were made. This work, of which no copy seems to exist in the United States, was not found by me at any library I visited in Europe except that in Wolfenbüttel, where I obtained a full microfilm. It should be noted that Jannaccone (*op. cit.*, p. 12) did not know the identity or location of Dommerich's manuscript, although this is given in the printed Wolfenbüttel catalogue, which she had consulted, as well as in Klotz, *Achilleid, op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 319[b] Helmst. (354), f. 235a-b, dated 1454, is a manuscript of the *Achilleid* also containing the epitome of Collutius de Stagnano, and was noted, under its old home of Helmstedt, in Kohlmann's edition of the *Achilleid, op. cit.*, p. XII. Cf. lists C, D, and H.

H. Manuscripts of the Achilleid *with marginal and/or interlinear scholia and/or glosses of no value for the text of the commentary sometimes ascribed to Lactantius Placidus*

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamiltonianus 607, s. XIV. The glosses were published in Hermann Mayer, "Die Glossen in der Berliner Statius-Handschrift," *Philologus* LIII (1894), pp. 194-197, and are trivial. Only two cases of agreement with the ancient commentary are noted, both of only one word and both clear from the context. I have not seen this manuscript, but a letter from the library, dated 16. September 1963, indicates that the manuscript survived the Second World War.

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 589, ff. 3a-17b, s. XIII.

Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 5338, s. XI, forming part of the same manuscript as MS. 5337, for which cf. List E. From the Abbey of St. Peter at Gembloux. I have not seen this manuscript, but I have a complete microfilm of it.

Cambridge: Peterhouse, MS. 215 (now in the University Library), ff. 78a-84b, s. XIII.

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS. Dc 157, ff. 1a-24b, s. XIII. The scholia were published by Max Manitius in "Dresdener Scholien zur Statius' Achilleis," *Rh.M.* LIX (1904), pp. 597-602:

they are of much the same character as all the others in this list. Manitius, as noted above under Dresden MS. Dc 156 in List D, did not seek the sources of these "new" scholia, nor, in my opinion, would this be a very profitable undertaking. Cf. also Wessner, *J.A.W.* CXXXIX (1908), p. 188. According to a letter from the library, dated 10. September 1963, this manuscript suffered severe water damage, but survived the Second World War.

Düsseldorf: Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, F. 50, 2ff., containing I, 1-13, 15-35, 37-58, 60-80, s. XIV in.

Düsseldorf: Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, F. 51, 1f., containing II, 280-347, s. XIII in.

Eton: Eton College Library, MS. 150, ff. 29a-37b, s. XI, containing only a few glosses. I have not seen this manuscript personally, but I have a complete microfilm of it. E. A. Lowe (*The Beneventan Script, op. cit.*, p. 152) says that this manuscript is probably to be affiliated with the "Bari group" of manuscripts. Mrs. Brooks (Emmons) Levy, in her unpublished thesis, *The Bari Type of Beneventan Script; Manuscripts from Apulia* (Diss. Radcliffe, 1961), p. 193, suggests that this manuscript probably came from the Abruzzi, and remarks that it "has distinctly non-Apulian initials."

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 24, 12, ff. 49a-69b, s. XII, containing I, 1-930 only, from the convent of Santa Croce, Florence.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 8, ff. 1a-17b, dated 1415. The glosses extend only down to f. 12a.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 9, ff. 1a-20b, s. XIV.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 38, 35, ff. 9a-29b, s. XIV.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 91 sup. 33, 24 unnumbered folia in the complete manuscript, s. XIV.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 91 sup. 34, ff. 2a-22b, s. XIV, containing very full mythological notes in the margin.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS. Strozzi 131, ff. 1a-18b, dated 1308.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J. IX. 5, ff. 76a-116b, s. XV, from the convent of San Marco at Florence.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. Cl. VII. 1063, ff. 1a-20b, s. XV.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. Cl. VII. 1088, ff. 1a-21b, s. XV.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS. II. IV. 333 (olim Magl. Cl. VII. 1015), ff. 44a-60a, dated 1375.

Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS. II. IX. 8, ff. 63a-88b, s. XV.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, Ricc. 712, ff. 1a-23b, s. XV, with miniatures identified, in a letter from the director, dated 17. April 1963, as being of the Florentine School. The marginal notes consist merely of corrections and alternate readings.

Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, Ricc. 1223. C., ff. 1a-26b, s. XIV.

Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruher HS. 445, ff. 1a-21b, s. XIV ex., from Durlach, with interlinear glosses on 1a-6b only, and marginal notes only on 1a-2b. This manuscript is noted in Kohlmann's edition of the *Achilleid, op. cit.*, p. XIII.

Leyden: University Library, B.P.L. 136 K, ff. 1b-14b, s. XIII. Cf. List D.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 14, ff. 170a-188b, s. XV. Cf. List D.

Leyden: University Library, Gronovianus lat. 87, ff. 13a-32b, s. XIV.

Leyden: University Library, Lipsianus lat. 36, ff. 19a-32b, s. XIII.

Leyden: University Library, Vossianus lat. o. 83, ff. 1b-18a, s. XIII.

London: British Museum, Burney MS. 257, ff. 226a-248b, s. XV. Cf. List D and G.

London: British Museum, Harleian MS. 2560, ff. 25a-50a, s. XV.

London: British Museum, Royal MS. 15 A. VII, ff. 37b-56a, s. XIII.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 10090, ff. 8b-22a, s. XIV. Cf. List G.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 10091, ff. 62b-79a, s. XV.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 10095, ff. 187a-200a, s. XV. Cf. List G.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 11995, ff. 1a-22b, s. XIV/XV. Cf. List D.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 11996, ff. 165a-183b, s. XV. Cf. List D.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 17404, ff. 220a-231b, s. XIV, ending at I, 808, in an Italian hand.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 17408, ff. 1a-19a, dated 1411.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 17510, ff. 1a-14a, s. XV.

London: British Museum, Add. MS. 22314, ff. 24a-45b, s. XIII.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. H. 166 Inf. Latinus, ff. 13a-28b, s. XV.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. M. 60 Sup. Latinus, ff. 138b-154a, s. XV. Cf. List D.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. Y. 99 Sup. Latinus, ff. 93a-113b, dated 1406.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 391, ff. 18b-42b, s. XIV, from the old Munich Electoral Library.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis Clm. 14557, s. XIV. I have not seen this manuscript personally, but I have a full microfilm of it.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Canonicianus Class. Lat. 122, ff. 1a-19b, s. XIV.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Lat. Class. d. 7, 1 f., containing II, 56-84, 89-116, s. XIII, written in England.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Lat. Class. e. 47, ff. 10b-26a (old numeration 254b-269a), s. XIII, perhaps from Northern France, formerly belonged to Canonici, Walter Sneyd, and H. W. Garrod, and was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1961.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 5.6 (2195), ff. 33a-58a. Glosses only on lines I, 1-17, 60-64, except for one single gloss later in the poem.

Oxford: Corpus Christi College, MS. Lat. CCXIX (now in the Bodleian Library), ff. 1a-29a, dated 1477, written in Bohemia (f. 192b contains some verses in praise of King Vladislav (son of King Casimir of Poland; King of Bohemia 1471-1516, of Hungary 1490-1516) and a subscription in Czech).

Oxford: Lincoln College, MS. Lat. XXVII (now in the Bodleian Library), ff. 63a-84b, s. XI/XII. Cf. List G.

Padua: Biblioteca Universitaria, MS. 233, ff. 165a-185a, dated 1463. I examined partial photographs of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Cf. List D.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8062, dated 1421. Since the description of this manuscript at the Institut de Recherche

et d'Histoire des Textes says that there are notes on the first folium only, I did not examine this manuscript.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8274, ff. 33a-60a, dated 1462.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8280, ff. 108b-120b, s. XIV? Cf. List D.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8559, ff. 32a-50b, s. XIII. Cf. List G.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 10317, ff. 168b-182a, s. X (f. 182a in a later hand). Cf. List A.

Perugia: Biblioteca (Comunale) Augusta, MS. C. 63 (180), ff. 131a-145a, s. XV ex. Cf. List D.

Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. B. 30, ff. 148a-161b, s. XIV. Cf. List D.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 33, ff. 1a-24a, s. XIV ex.-XV in.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 41, ff. 50b-64b (ending at II, 11), s. XIII. Cf. List G.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 62, ff. 98a-119a, dated 1466-1467.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 74, ff. 124b-138a, s. XII (or XIII?). Cf. List D.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus lat. 135, ff. 1a-15a, dated 1340. Written at Pisa.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus H. VIII. 272, ff. 17a-29a, s. XV. Cf. List D.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1261, ff. 8b-22b (through I, 329), s. XV. Cf. List G.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 1475, ff. 1a-22b, s. XII ex. In the hand of Laurentius Campanus. Cf. List C.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 2027, ff. 7a-198b (through I, 329), s. XVII. A *codex descriptus* of Ottoboni lat. 1261. Cf. List G.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus lat. 2836, ff. 1a-25a, s. XV. Marginal notes on various myths are found only on 1b; the interlinear glosses end on 4b with I, 160.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus lat. 1695, ff. 4b-24a, s. XIII. Cf. List G.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1708, ff. 1a-20a, dated 1391. Written at Florence?

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 1828, ff. 244a-264b, s. XV. Cf. List G.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 1618, ff. 1a-29a, s. XV. Glosses on 1a-2a only.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3281, ff. 1a-21b, s. XII (in., according to E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*: *A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, Oxford, 1914). The glosses (marginal and interlinear) are trivial, but the manuscript is of interest because it is written in Beneventan script. It is written over palimpsest leaves of an Old Testament of s. V in uncials, for which cf. E. A. Lowe, *C.L.A.* (1934), I, 14. A single reading from this manuscript (*sors* at I, 810) was given by Klotz in the "Addenda et Corrigenda" to the second edition of his *Achilleid* (*op. cit.*, p. XLVIII), on the authority of F. Gustafsson. This apparently was obtained by personal correspondence and not from a published work. In addition, Klotz published a misreading of I, 772 (*Pelides classibus foret hic detectus achilles* for the correct *Pelides ducibus foret hic detectus achivis*) in "Ad Achilleida symbolae criticae," *Philologus* LXI (1902), p. 303, n. 22, which he says was derived from correspondence with Gustafsson. Gustafsson had published an article ("Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti in latinum conversi e palimpsesto Vaticano eruta," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* XII (1883), pp. 243-267) on the underlying Old Testament fragments in this manuscript, but seems never to have fulfilled his intention (cf. *ibid.*, p. 244) to publish his ideas on what value it might have for the text of the *Achilleid.*

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. 455 (= 1591), ff. 3a-20b, s. XV. There are full notes on ff. 3a-4b, through I, 101, and none at all thereafter.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. 541 (= 1560), 19 folia, unnumbered except for the last, s. XIV. Cf. List G.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XII, 11 (= 4162), ff. 51b-80b, s. XV. Glosses on 51b-52a (lines I, 1-19) and 63b only.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XII, 60 (= 4166), ff. 1a-21b, s. XV, scholia and glosses continuing only to 15a.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XII, 163 (= 4398), ff. 119a-141a (renumbered 117a-139a), s. XV.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XII, 232 (= 3985), ff. 1a-20b (a miscellaneous manuscript in which the pagination of each work is separate), s. XV.

Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XIV, 335 (=10704), ff. 37a-59a, s. XV, with glosses ending on 56a (at the end of Book I).

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bibl. nat. MS 3114, ff. 109b-129b, dated 1481.

Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bibl. nat. MS. 13685 (suppl. 2923), ff. 2a-30a, dated 1477-1479. Contains a few very long and discursive scholia, and some very elementary glosses.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 52, ff. 122a-136a, s. XIV. Cf. List D.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Gudianus lat. 228, ff. 52-74b, s. XIII/XIV.

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 319^{b}. Helmst. (354), ff. 211a-234b, dated 1454, Cf. Lists C, D, and G.

I. Manuscripts related to the Achilleid *not seen, or which deserve more attention (unless otherwise noted, consisting of the* Achilleid *with marginal and interlinear notes)*

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Hamiltonianus 608, 32 ff., s. XIV. Contains glosses and commentary.

Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Hamiltonianus 610, "Statii Opera cum glossis et commentario," 97 ff. for the whole, s. XIV. Cf. List E.

Breslau (now Wroclaw): University Library, MS. IV Q 64, ff. 105a-125b, dated 1374. Still in existence, according to a letter from the library dated 10. May 1963.

Brussels: Universitê Libre, Cod. Universitatis Bruxellensis 1 (or *sans cote*), s. XII/XIII, Cf. H. Tranchant, "Le Codex Universitatis Bruxellensis," *L'Antiquitê Classique*, N. S. III (1934), pp. 451-453, who says only that some of the scholia are not in the ancient commentary. The photograph, published before p. 451, of lines I, 1-11 shows no scholia from this commentary, but typical scholastic glosses.

Carpentras: Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 369 (L. 365), ff. 125a-141b, s. XIV. The same remarks apply to this that were made about the *Thebaid* in this same manuscript in List E.

Erfurt: Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Amplonianus o. 1, ff. 1a-20a, s. XIV in.

Escorial: Real Biblioteca, MS. f. III. 11, ff. 136a-151b, s. XIV. Cf. List E. It also contains, on f. 151b, scholia beginning "In principio huius auctoris qui est primus et principalis inter libros scolasticos . . ."

Kraków: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS. 525 (DD. VI. 13), ff. 109b-126a, s. XV.

Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Sala del Prefetto, Scaffale 10, no. 27 (formerly A 79 inf.), ff. 233b-248b, s. XIII, once owned by Petrarch, containing the *Achilleid* with a commentary beginning "Magnanimum etc. In hoc libro quinque sunt inquirenda." The reference to this manuscript, which I have not seen, is from Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II, p. 536.

Prague: Universitní Knihovna, MS. 1640 (VIII. H. 22), ff. 123a-151a, dated 1386-1389.

Sankt-Florian (*Austria*): Augustiner-Chorherren Stiftsbibliothek, MS. XI. 58, ff. 120a-139b, s. XIII.

The article of Paul M. Clogan referred to above ("A Preliminary List of Anonymous Glosses on Statius' *Achilleid*," *Manuscripta* IX (1965), pp. 104-109) notes glosses in Bernensis 156 (for which cf. List D). I have not examined this manuscript autoptically, but inscription of a full microfilm of it in my possession revealed no glosses, but rather variant readings, omissions inserted in the margin, and marginal scribblings (mainly consisting of parts or all of the line "Si deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt").

J. Manuscripts of the Commentary on the Thebaid *of Fulgentius Planciades*

Bern: Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 141, 323, c. 1600 ? This manuscript (= D), which I have not seen personally, but of which I have a full photograph, was written by Pierre Daniel.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 3012, ff. 60b-64a, s. XIII (?) (= P), from which Rudolf Helm published the text. It is written in a very difficult script, partly obliterated.

K. Manuscripts found in old catalogues, but not located or identified, and miscellaneous manuscript notes

From the catalogue of B. Montfaucon (*Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, 2 vols., Paris, 1739):

Paris: Library of Cardinal Radulphus, No. 26, a Lactantius

Placidus. Most of these manuscripts are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but this was presumably neither Parisinus 8063 nor 8064, both of which were probably in what was then the Bibliothèque Royale, of which the great catalogue of Latin manuscripts appeared in 1744.

Paris: "Bibliotheca S. Martialis Lemovicensis, quae nunc Regiae adjuncta est," No. 85 (work no. 67, "Glossulae Martini de S. Benedicto super Statium"). This does not seem to be in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Vatican: Bibliotheca Alexandri Petavii 1044, *Achilleid* with the commentary of Laurentius Campanus. These manuscripts were bought by Queen Christina and carried back to Sweden: one would want to identify this with MS. Ottobonianus lat. 1475, which belonged to her (according to the unpublished Vatican catalogue) and passed into the Ottoboniani after her death, but de Manteyer, in "Les manuscrits de la reine, Christine, aux Archives du Vatican," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* XVII (1897), pp. 285-322 and XXIV (1904), pp. 371-423, does not include it in his list.

Venice: Bibliotheca Tarvisiana, a Lactantius Placidus. All my efforts have not availed me in locating any information about this library. (Possibly from the city of Treviso, or Trevisiana from Bernardo Trevisani, the Venetian patrician (1653-1720), as suggested in a letter from the director of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, dated 30. April 1963, although where Trevisani's library might be is also unknown).

From the catalogue of G. Haenel (*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur*, Leipzig, 1830):

Strasbourg: an *Achilleid* with scholia. Perhaps destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1870.

From the catalogue of J. B. Mittarelli of St. Michael's Monastery, Venice (*Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum*, Venice, 1779):

MSS. 79 (dated 1447) and 330 (s. XIV), containing the *Achilleid* with glosses and scholia. This library is now scattered, and many of its manuscripts, although not these, are to be found in the Marciana in Venice. The bulk of the collection of St. Michael's of Murano was once at San Gregorio Magno al Celio at Rome, but these manuscripts were apparently never there, since they are not

listed in G. Valentinelli, "Biblioteca di San Gregorio al Monte Celio in Roma", *Archivio Veneto* III (1872), pp. 152-156.

Certain other manuscripts should be noted here, for the record, although they are of no particular interest or value:

Leyden: University Library, Scaligerianus 61, ff. 136b-138b, s. XVI-XVII, is merely a transcript of some scholia from an early edition, in the hand of Scaliger. The edition, as I was able to show by comparison, is not that of Lindenbrog, as noted in the catalogue.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. D'Orville 327 (= Auct. X. 2. 2. 7), is the Lindenbrog edition of 1600, containing notes from Lindenbrog's own copy (cf. *Introduction*, n. 7) and conjectures by D'Orville and Drakenborch. There are none for Lactantius Placidus III, 205-386, the section selected here for a *specimen criticum*.

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 8283, ff. 51a-218b, s. XVI or XVII, contains an "Explanatio omnium vocabulorum et phrasum difficiliorum quae in Thebaide occurunt" (*sic*), a mere elementary listing of words with their definitions (e.g., "Primordia, i.e., principia").

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus 15155, ff. 14a-15a, s. XIII, contains a *florilegium* from the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*. Some of these *flores* are glossed.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas lat. 1604, f. 264a-b, s. XVII, "De Lactantio Placido" in an (autograph) "De viris doctrina claris" by Gaudenzio Paganini, a professor at Pisa, contains nothing new or of interest.

Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 4060, ff. 63b-112a, s. XV(?), a "Tabula annotationum in Statium," consists merely of an alphabetical table of words (lemmata?) in Statius, each with a number (keyed perhaps to some manuscript?).

Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 65. Aug. fol. (Cod. Aug. 2637), ff. 1a-8a, s. XV, which the catalogue calls a commentary to the *Thebaid*, is actually a brief printed commentary to the *Achilleid*, for which cf. Chapter IV, A below.

I have not seen *Florence*: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Inc. Magl. A. 3.39 (formerly VII, 124), which is an edition of Statius, along with Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, published at Vicenza in 1481 (*GW* 6389; Hain 4760), to which Paul Oskar Kristeller

refers in his *Iter Italicum,* II, p. 512. The Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius texts in this volume were annotated, as subscriptions show, in 1522 by Bernardus Philomethes Pisanus, but the reference in *Iter Italicum* does not make it clear whether there are any notes to the Statius.

In addition, an entry in the list of manuscripts of the *Achilleid* by Jannaccone deserves special note. The reference to the manuscripts cited under "Erfurt" from W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt,* Berlin, 1887, p. 362 ("duo Stacii cum glossulis . . . duo Stacii Achilleidos") is really extraordinary: on Amplonianus Q. 102, f. 167b (discussed on p. 362) is to be found a list, headed "Hii sunt libri conventus Nazarene ecclesie" (identity unknown, somewhere in the South of Europe), s. XIII. It is *in this list* that the reference is found!

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STEMMATA

A. Towards the establishment of a stemma for Lactantius Placidus

The manuscripts here considered are as follows:

B Bambergensis Ms. class. 47, S. XI,
E Parisinus 10317, with two separate hands throughout, E^1 and E^2, s. X,
f Monacensis Clm. 6396, s. XI,
K Guelferbytanus Gudianus 54, s. XI,
M Monacensis Clm. 19482, s. XI/XII,
m Florentinus Mediceus Laurentianus 38, 6, s. XI,
V Valentinianus 394, s. IX-X,

(in addition, there are the manuscripts of the Italian vulgate, descendants of a lost manuscript π, in two families, called Φ and Ψ, as will later be seen, as follows:)

A Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1694, our oldest witness for the Italian vulgate by some four centuries, s. X,
b Vaticanus Barberinus lat. 84, s. XV,
c Perusinus C. 53, anno 1399,
e Escurialensis Ms. h. II. 8, anno 1459,
F Pistoriensis (Bibliothecae Forteguerrianae) Cod. Fort. A, 45, s. XIV,
G Perusinus G. 1, s. XV,
k Parisinus 8064, s. XV,
O Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicianus class. lat. 75, s. XV,
p Parisinus 8063, s. XIV,
Q Florentinus (Bibliothecae Riccardianae) Ms. 651, s. XV,
R Vaticanus lat. 3381, s. XV,
v Vindobonensis 3118, s. XV.

Since the evidence presented here is based primarily on the section used for a *specimen criticum*, III, 205-386, the fragments at Bern, Kassel (= H), the Laurentian Library, Columbia University, Leipzig, and Montpellier, and those described by Bezzola (*op. cit.*), S (Monacensis Clm. 17206), and W (the various fragments of the

old Werden manuscript described above) were not taken into primary consideration, nor, because of the limited number of Lactantian scholia in them or the scantiness of our evidence for what they contained, were C (Parisinus 8055) and Lindenbrog's two (lost) manuscripts, the Pithoeanus and the Regius, nor, as being derivative, were D (Bruxellensis 1723), Z (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS. 780), N (Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, MS. CVI), r (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. C. 60), and U (Urbinas lat. 361), although stemmatically important readings of some of these manuscripts will be noted below.

It is relatively easy to construct the stemma of the descendants of π (all being separate texts, and contamination being relatively slight), as we shall see, but for BEfKMmVπ it is somewhat more difficult, for several reasons. To begin with, all of these except MV (and possibly π) are manuscripts of the *Thebaid* with marginal and/or interlinear scholia: this renders all the evidence in BfKm concerning the lemmata suspect (E, as far as I have observed, never gives lemmata), since they could have suffered interpolation at any point from the text opposite. The scholia in E, in either hand, are shortened (and occasionally, it must be noted, rewritten) to the point where they are hardly more than glosses; B, while not having undergone so much reduction, is, like E, highly interpolated and somewhat rewritten: it is, in addition, in a really dreadful state of preservation, with its marginal scholia having suffered especially great losses; V, despite its great age, is very highly interpolated and subject to capricious omission; K is very erratic in its lemmata and its scribe, with almost finicky neatness, will not sacrifice calligraphy to completeness, so that long scholia are usually omitted due to lack of space; m is also subject to interpolation. Indeed, there are very few passages found in all eight sources, and it is obvious that an attempt to construct a stemma based on the presence or absence of varous scholia,[1] or to determine, by the mere comparison of manuscripts, whether or not a given passage is "original", must fail: Funaioli's (*op. cit.*) extremely

[1] Indeed, the occasional presence of the same scholium in two manuscripts need not imply any connection, since they could easily both have been interpolated from the same source, e.g., at 127,11, where the scholium found in V is also given in E (not listed in either Burnam or Kohlmann, *Neue Scholien*..., *opp. citt.*), and in B, and the scholium on Dirce and Antiope found in V in the place of 152,3-6 is also found, in an extremely corrupt and truncated form, in r after 152,9.

elaborate attempt at the latter, based on a comparison of MV (and, to a lesser extent, BE) had little success, and Eduard Bieber's attempt at a stemma (in *Hygini fabularum supplementum*, Diss. Marburg, 1904, pp. 5-9), even if he had pursued it diligently and set forth his findings honestly, [1] would, nevertheless, have been doomed to failure because of faulty methodology. In such a case as this, where the texts of the various manuscripts of an author differ widely in content (rather more, indeed, than in readings, for the texts are relatively "clean", that is, the number of errors found in more than one manuscript, but not in all, is relatively small), there can be no other method of approach than the comparison of the readings found in as many manuscripts as possible, so as to

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[1] Bieber's stemma, which need not be reproduced here, considers only M, p, k (which he identified with Lindenbrog's MS. Regius), and Lindenbrog's MS. Pithoeanus, ignoring all others, and is based solely on interpolation and omission, prejudging which is which. He states (p. 7), that the MS. Regius is "sine ulla dubitatione" the same as k, giving the following examples of agreement (cited by pages and lines in Jahnke's edition): 318,24 phisice potius, 302,17 Salmacis, 421,10 expressis, 421,19 loco, 422,28 modos, 433,10 conferebant, 309,22 flammabat, 372,27 volatile cornu, "etc." (*sic*). These could have been located in only one way, a matter of some half hour's work: Lindenbrog's text is printed without variants, and in his "Variae Lectiones" (pp. 499-512) he gives variants, either from his manuscripts, from earlier editions, or from his own conjectures, very seldom, in the first of these cases, indicating from which of these two manuscripts he obtained them. I collected the passages in which he definitely indicated the MS. Regius, and compared them, as Bieber must have done, with Jahnke's apparatus (I thus cannot guarantee the accuracy of the collation, but this is not now relevant to the argument). The result is enough to destroy any faith in Bieber's veracity: of sixteen other places where Lindenbrog gives a reading in the MS. Regius (MSR), in three (202,5-8; 223,14-15; and 224,14) apparently the same reading is found in all Jahnke's manuscripts, in two (330,17 mutatio and 440,5 imponit) and possibly a third (if *locis* at 134,11 is, as it seems, a misprint of *lucis*) the two agree, and in the remaining ten they differ: 134,23 Alalcomenia MSR, alcomeneae k; 344,20 divisorum MSR, diversorum k; 373,2 ut sacrorum in MSR, ut sacrorum k; 399,5-6 pueri *inser. post* sanguis MSR, *om.* k; 399,12 artibus MSR, a tribus k; 413,9 caedebat MSR, sedebat k; 440,2 purgaverit MSR, purificaverat k; 441,8 invicem (*pro* sibi invicem) MSR, ig̅ invicem k; 443,4 pupillorum MSR, pullorum k; 459,1 infelicibus MSR, inferis lucis k. This was the evidence which was available to Bieber but concealed by him: it is likely that in some of these cases, but hardly many—v, for example, agrees with MSR against this version of k's readings at three places only, 443,4, 459,1, and 440,2 (-it MSR, -at v), and differs from MSR k only at 134,11-12 and 433,10—Jahnke either collated inaccurately or did not mention the common reading in his apparatus. In any case, the MS. Regius, while certainly not k, was very closely related to k and v, and was thus, as we shall see below, a rather inferior member of the Ψ family.

construct (if possible) a stemma, from which, in turn, evidence as to the omission and interpolation of scholia or parts of scholia can be deduced.

I. The Italian Vulgate

That AbceFGkOpQRv are part of a family is unquestionable. Every page is filled with their common readings, e.g. 151, 23 hoc illud (hoc et illud Q), 152, 10 ET (EA c²O², *om.* Q), 153, 24 et *inser. post* unde (om. Q), 153, 24 Graecum *inser. post* est, 154, 13 delum (also found in m; found in all—Jahnke does not note this—except GOQ, which have restored *c(a)elum*, and ekv, which read *delu*, by a secondary error), 154, 20 maritum matrem amata (*om.* quod) (martem amata *ex* martem armatum Q, maritum martem amata b, maruum matrem amata G), 154, 21 iratum (iras *ex* irati b, thracum R, vatum K—not noted by Jahnke), 155, 3 cadmo (cadmus QRv, cadmus *ex* cadmo b), 157, 11 ius aliter ios et iovis (*om.* et ekv, os *pro* ios G, yos iovis Q), 158, 5 omnipotens (in which they are joined by f), 159, 3 ad ethera (ab ethere Q), 159, 9 REMENSUS (REMERSUS R, EMERSUS O), 159, 10 *inser.* et est sermo nauticus, 159, 13 facies eius (in which they are joined by B), 160, 6 male, 160, 15 hospitio (hospiciū k), 162, 19 ait (in which they are joined by K)—to list only cases in which the reading is as clear for the archetype as possible (Q is full, as will be seen below, of conjectures, sometimes extremely acute and accurate) and in which (except for the cases noted) the common reading is not found in other manuscripts.

Within this family, then, there are two clearly defined families, Φ (AFpQ) and Ψ (bceGkORv). Some examples of this split (the transmitted readings first) are as follows: 151, 10 inquit illa Ψ (inquit illam b¹kRv): illa inquit Φ, 152, 9 consuerunt Φ (esuerunt p—Jahnke's apparatus here is incorrect; consueverunt Q): consueverunt Ψ (consuerunt O), 152, 14 post Φ: postea Ψ (poste ekv), 152, 21 exibat Ψ (exierat b¹R): exiebat Φ (exibat Q), 152, 25 carerent Φ (carebant Q): carebant Ψ (crebant k, carerent b²—b being corrected often by comparison with a manuscript of the Φ family), 153, 1 par Φ: pari Ψ, 153, 6 ni Φ: tu Ψ (ni O, ni *ex* tu b), 153, 13 tibi Φ (*om.* Q): vel Ψ (tibi *ex* vel b) (a confusion caused by *t* with *i* superscript for *tibi*, as in A), 153, 17 notandum Ψ (notandum est ekv): non tantum Φ (notantum A, notandum Q), 154, 18 infra Φ: in Ψ (i. GO, *om.* k), 155, 9 deprensa Φ: deprehensa Ψ, 156, 11

genere atheniensis fuit Φ: atheniensis fuit genere Ψ, 157, 6 de Φ: *om.* Ψ (Jahnke's "*om.* M" is misleading: k also omits this), 158, 19-20 obicit imbecillitatem Ψ (obcit importunitatem i. c, probat i. ekv, i. obicit O, i. obiicit G): imbecillitatem obicit Φ, 158, 20 transferret Φ: transferat Ψ, 159, 6 id est Φ: vel Ψ (*om.* c), 160, 12-13 deum credis Ψ (credis deum cO): credis deum Φ, 160, 14 violatae hospitalitatis Φ: hospitalitatis violatae Ψ, 161, 8-9 Polluci instarent Ψ (*om.* instarent b (*inser. in marg.* b²) R): luci staret Φ (in lucis starent Q), 161, 28 RES Φ: REX Ψ (RES GO²), 162, 9 desiderio filiorum Φ: filiorum desiderio Ψ (Jahnke is here incorrect: k does *not* omit *desiderio*), and 162, 22 id Φ: itaΨ (id *ex* ita b, itaque e). These are, again, only some of the clearest cases.

It is fairly easy to establish a stemma for Ψ, even from the distinctive errors found in the short span of III, 205-386, with a fair degree of certainty. I have not found any certain case of contamination among these manuscripts, although there is definitely some (how much is difficult to determine) from Φ. b, as already noted, contaminated its text, often by almost undetectable additions or erasures and rewritings, with readings from Φ at, e.g., 153, 6 tu Ψ: ni *ex* tu b, 153, 11 aliquando Ψ: ante *ex* aliquando b, 153, 13 vel Ψ: tibi *ex* vel b, 161, 17-18? (see below), 162, 6 ? iturus Ψ: ituris *ex* iturus b, and 162, 22 ita Ψ: id *ex* ita b, and the corrector (b²), seems to have done so also at, e.g., 152, 21 exierat b: exibat b² (from Φ, with a corrected form, or perhaps from another manuscript of the Ψ family ?), 152, 25 carebant b: carerent b², and 156, 9 ? aena b: aenea b² (along with k and G, also suspected on other occasions: here, while p reads *aena*, AF join in reading *aenea*). GO seem to have been contaminated at some places, e.g. 153, 11 ante (as noted before), 156, 10 HYMENAEIS *om.* Ψ: *non om.* GO Φ, 157, 16 ? infortunia Ψ (also A *ex* infortuna): infortuna GO Φ (except for A, importuna Q), 158, 19-20? imbecil(l)itatem obicit (obiicit G) GO (as noted above), 159, 15-16 quia nimium est nostri (nostri est k) Ψ: animum est nostri GO (*animum* being characteristic of Φ), and, a somewhat different case, 161, 28? REX Ψ: RES GO² Φ (O having REX). The cases of O in 153, 6 (as noted above: a quotation) and G in 156, 9 (also noted above) are doubtful. k also, in the latter, doubtful case, may be contaminated: the readings of k at 151, 14 etiam Φ Ψ: *om.* kp, 155, 2 ? succenderet Φ Ψ: succederet kp (also R), and 152, 1 dirce Φ Ψ: dicere kp seem to indicate some special relationship between k and p, of an un-

determinable sort.[1] Also, in quotations, such as 152, 15 vanam ceGO: unam bkRv (which seems to derive from an alternate reading in Lucan) and 158, 4 quoniam R (*ex quia* O): quia Ψ, no particular faith can be put in the various manuscript readings, since the possibility of influence from the text quoted can not be excluded.

For the stemma of Ψ, compare 160, 11 and 161, 17-18 (the transmitted reading in each case being given first), there being no ambiguity in this, since Φ and all other manuscripts join in this:

160, 11	ad eum omnino bcR, ad eum ekOv, adeo G	
161, 17-18	occasiones periculorum fuerint	b[1] *sese corrigens* c
	occasione periculorum fuerint	bR
	periculorum occasiones fuerint	O
	periculorum occasiones fuerit	G
	occasiones periculum fuit	ekv.

The group ekv is found throughout, so often maintaining a peculiar error in reading against bcGOR—cf. 151, 20 senserunt bcGOR: sanxerunt ekv, 152, 19 gradivumque bcGOR: grandevumque ekv, 153, 6 accipere bcGOR: accipe ekv, 153, 8 tibi bcGOR: tibi ut ekv, 153, 12 fuerunt bcGOR: fuerant ekv—that a full enumeration would be tedious. 160, 11 fairly well shows that it is to be taken as an inferior branch of the family rather than as a separate subfamily in itself, since it is much more likely that eGkOv are derived from a common source than that *omnino* was omitted separately by both the common ancestors of ekv and GO.

GO, it should be noted, agree in error at, e.g., 151, 14 etiam Ψ: et GO, 156, 4 Dido Ψ: ideo GO, 157, 3 felix Ψ: infelix GO, 157, 8

[1] It was unfortunate that Jahnke knew only these two representatives of the Italian vulgate, since this special relationship and their many peculiar errors, especially the lacunae in k, make them, all in all, the least good representatives of these two families, except for G, a very slovenly written and carelessly copied manuscript, and Q, which is of special interest, just as it was unfortunate for classical scholarship that he collated and set forth the evidence from his p and k so badly. Q has been corrupted by innumerable often quite good conjectures, which seem not to be connected with the early printed vulgate, since they do not contain its peculiar errors and since the manuscript has many correct readings not to be found in the early printed texts, e.g., 155,13 perfecit (also found in O[2]) and consciam facti minervam, and 159,3 ab ethere (found in earlier manuscripts, but not in ΦΨ), as well as the very possible *hymenei nuptiis* at 157,3 and *in Bebrycio nemore* at 161,3-4, not found in any other manuscripts, nor any edition before Kohlmann (for the former) and Jahnke, and has, in addition, sacrificed its integrity by being interpolated from a manuscript of the Ψ family.

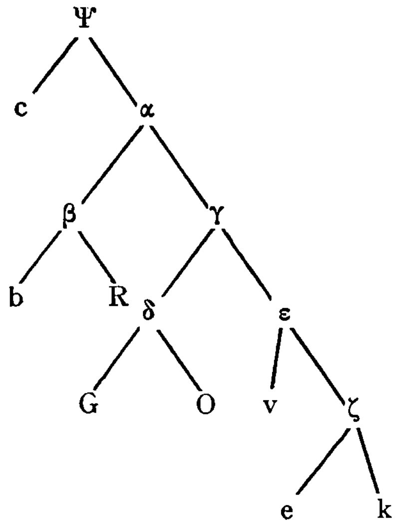
tibeus Ψ: tideus GO, 158, 16 moliri Ψ: moli GO, 159, 22 asopon Ψ: asapon GO (c, which reads *asapon* in 159, 21, here deserting them), 161, 14 artam *vel* arctam Ψ: actam GO, 161, 25 possideret Ψ: possiderat GO, 161, 27 matris Ψ (bcRO^2, matri ekv): meritis GO, and the two doubtful cases 160, 8 unde Ψ: ut GO and 160, 15 ut Ψ: *om.* GO, as well as in the places given above.

bR also agree in error at, e.g., 152, 21 exibat Ψ (including b^2): exierat b^{1}R, 153, 24 deorum Ψ: deorum *ex* bellorum b, bellorum R, 154, 18 apex Ψ (apes ekOv—k's reading was not noted by Jahnke): apex *ex* ard (?) b, aspexit R (indicating that their exemplar was illegible or unintelligible), 155, 8-9 in lemnum Ψ (*om.* G, restored to -o in ekv): apud lemnum bR, 155, 23 ? hae Ψ: haec bR, 158, 8 fastidia Ψ: fastigia bR, 159, 17 sicut c Φ, sic ut b^2, sicut *ex* suum b^1, suum R, sic G, *om.* sicut ... virtutem O, quia ekv, 159, 18 iaceat (*recte* ?) ΦΨ: iacet b, iacet *ex* iaceat R, 159, 20 confossum Ψ: confossum *ex* confessum b, confessum R (G ?), and 161, 9-10, where bR omit *instarent* ... *Bebryciorum* (which b^2 inserts in the margin), and at 155, 3 (with v) have restored *cadmus* (b's reading here, cadmus *ex* cadmo, seems to be a correction, rather than an interpolation, since Φ also reads *cadmo*), and at 159, 21 alone read (correctly) *asopon* (asapon cGO = Ψ ?, asopom kv, asoponi e).

In addition, in the sub-family ekv, v seems to be somewhat better (that is, closer to Ψ) than ek, cf. 151, 7 hoc Ψ: hec ek, 156, 17 satisfaciebat Ψ: faciebat v, paciebat e, pascebat k, 157, 12-13 agenorius Ψ: agenoris ek (an easy enough correction), 159, 17 transcendat Ψ: transcendit k, transendit e, 162, 28 altus Ψ: alter ek (only one of many readings of k not mentioned by Jahnke, despite the appearance of indiscriminate inclusion in his apparatus), and so forth.

161, 17-18 also implies (b apparently correcting himself by interpolation here as elsewhere) that c is somewhat superior to bR. This opinion is reinforced by the fact that at 159, 10 ut c: *om.* bGORekv and 159, 17 (*sicut*: see above) c alone gives the right reading, thus eliminating the possibility of the stemmatic type in which bcR and eGkOv would be descended from separate ancestors, while at 160, 12-13 credis deum cOΦ: deum credis (*recte*) beGkRv, it is likely that c's reading is the transmitted reading, O's (as at 153, 6 *ni*, noted above) is interpolated, and the reading of the other manuscripts was restored when it was noted that the metre was defective.

Taken altogether, the following stemma for Ψ has been established:



Apparent negative evidence is not far to seek, but it does not hold up under examination. One must, of course, exclude from consideration careless errors such as inversion of words, cases of accommodation to surrounding words or to the supposed construction (frequent in verb forms, e.g., at 156, 23, where GOvek read *pervenerunt,* otherwise found in M only), differences based on misapprehension of the correct form or spelling, cases—not uncommon in vek—where the right reading (not to be found in Φ) was restored by comparison with a quoted text or by conjecture, changes because of confusion in abbreviations or script (e.g., *hic, haec, hoc,* and *huius,* which could arise in either of these ways, *tamen* and *tantum, quam* and *quod, etiam* and *et*), and variations between words often confused from sound or other similarity (e.g., 152, 1 facta cb^2RGO: fata b^1vek, 154, 18 (noted above), with its *apes*: *apex* variant, and 154, 23 pallas cbRO: palla Gvek (the same confusion being found in Φ: pallas AQ: palla Fp—presumably *pallas* was found in π). Excluding errors explainable in these ways, I have found only three difficult cases: 152, 15 vanam (Φ)cGOe: unam bRvk, noted above, where there might have been variants

in the text of Lucan either transmitted as variants in the text of Lactantius Placidus or admitted from memory of or comparison with the text of Lucan himself,[1] 158, 4 quoniam R, quoniam *ex* quia O, quia Ψ, where the same process might have taken place from the text of Lucretius, and, a really difficult case, 153, 4 frenos (Φ)bRGO: firmos cvek (once again, not noted by Jahnke). The reading *frenos* is obviously correct, but how did *firmos* intrude at cε ? The most patent solution would be for *firmos* or some form of the verb *firmo* to occur in a gloss, but, besides the unlikeliness of this cropping up in the text at cε and leaving no trace elsewhere, it is difficult to see the relevance of any such gloss—perhaps *firm* (*a anim*)*os* or the like ?—anywhere in the neighborhood. It is even more difficult, however, to see how this reading could have arisen by ordinary textual corruption, and almost impossible for this to have occurred twice independently. Another possibility, subject, however, to the same difficulties, is suggested by the original reading of M, which was *fremos*.

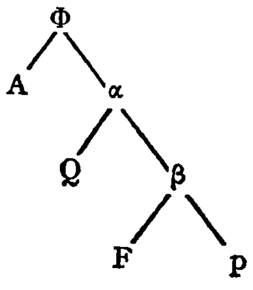
Generally, speaking, then, for the reasons given above, for reconstructing the text of Ψ the best witnesses are cRve, with O and G, the one interpolated and filled with conjectures, the other somewhat less so, but very corrupt, of about equal and lesser value. b and k have sacrificed their integrity (and the latter suffers from so many lacunae and other peculiar errors) that they may and should be disregarded.

For Φ the situation is much simpler. Leaving aside the many cases in which Q is either contaminated from Ψ—such as 152, 9 consueverunt ΨQ: consuerunt (esuerunt p—Jahnke's reading is wrong) Φ, 152, 21 exibat ΨQ: exiebat Φ, and 152, 25 carebant ΨQ: carerent Φ (one of the clearest cases)—and its many conjectures (some of the most successful of which are listed in note 1, p. 56), the division is almost always between AQ on the one hand and Fp on the other—e.g., to note only some of the more distinctive differences: 152, 19 gradivumque AQ: graduumque Fp, 153, 2 (*om.* SIC Φ) ENSE AQ: EN IPSE p, EMPSE F (EMSE F^2), 154, 4 and 5 (in both cases) numina AQ: minima Fp, 154, 5 mihi sunt AQ: sunt mihi Fp, 154, 12 esse AQ: *om.* Fp, 157, 12 egistus A, aegyptus Q: $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{c}}$gistus Fp, 157, 16-17 thebarum AQ: thebanorum Fp, 158, 3 iuvare AQ: vivere Fp, 158, 8 patrui AQ: patria Fp, 159, 16 superb-

[1] It might be noted here that a similar confusion between *vana* and *una* occurs in M at 14,6.

ire Fp: subire AQ, 159, 16 facit in(m)memores (-em Q) AQ: in(m)memores facit Fp, 160, 2 deesset AQ: deest Fp, 160, 9 epicurum AQ: epicur(r)eum Fp, 160, 10 superis AQ: superuis F, super vis p, 160, 15 deum AQ: $\overline{\text{dni}}$ (*i.e.*, domini) Fp, 160, 18 sauromatas AQ: saromatas Fp, 160, 19 vicini sedibus AQ: vicinis fedibus Fp, 160, 21 sarmatas AQ: sarmatos Fp, 161, 11 autem AQ: aut Fp, 161, 14 muris AQ: murisque Fp, 162, 6 distrai turis p, distracturis F: distrahita iris A, distrahi tairis Q, 162, 6 bellum AQ: bella Fp, 162,8 forte AQ: *om.* Fp, 162, 16 isse Fp: ipse AQ. (It is to be noted that Jahnke's collation of p can not be relied upon at all: I have omitted explicit notice of his errors). Excluding trivial errors and variations of the types noted before under Ψ—e.g., 156, 9 aena AF: aenea pQ, 157, 23 econtra AFQ²: et contra pQ, 151, 18 quam FQ (unless this is *quod*: it is very carelessly written): quod Ap, 155, 9 lemno pQ: lemnum AF—the major point to be noted is that F is often corrected by F¹ or F² (it is usually impossible to distinguish between them) to agreement with Ψ: e.g., 153, 8 lucemque QΨ, lucemque *ex* lucem F, lucem Ap (in a quotation from Vergil), 154, 7 MANU Q, MANU *ex* MANUS F (or F²), MANUS Ap (in a lemma), 156, 20 illos p, illo *ex* illos AF (or A²F² ?), illas et Q (illo Ψ), 156, 25 a AQ, a *ex* ac F¹ (or F² ?), ac p, 158, 18 vulcania AQ, vulcania *ex* vulcanalia F (or F² ?), vulcanalia p, 159, 8 navigantibus AQ, navigantibus *ex* navigantis F (hardly F²), navigantis p, 159, 10 preterit AF¹ *inter lineas* QΨ, *om.* p (and originally F), 159, 15-16 qui animum nostri A, qui a nimium est nostri A² (quia nimium est nostri Ψ), quoniam nimium est nostri Q, qui est nostri animum p, qui nostri animum F, ał quia nimium est nostri F² *inter lineas*, 160, 10 superis AQΨ, superis *ex* superuis F (or F² ?), super vis p, and 161, 7 pollucem AQΨ, pollucem *ex* pollinicem F (or F² ?), pollinicem p. In addition, it should be noted that at 153, 13 F¹(?) corrects CUI to QUE (the reading of the ω family in Statius), which is not found elsewhere among the descendants of π, except in O², and at 161, 27 F² (?) corrects *matris* to *matri* (as in vek alone), in a quotation from Vergil. Admittedly some of these passages could have been corrected from memory of the quoted passages, and some are inconclusive, yet the most likely explanation is that F¹ (and F² ?) added some readings from a manuscript of the Ψ family, as may A² in 156, 20 (?) and 159, 15-16. In addition, I have found only one case, and that trivial, where there is any cross-over: at 159, 10 ut pQ: *om.* AF. This could have arisen from the habit of prefacing quotations by *ut*, or even conceivably by contamination.

Granted, then, that Fp and AQ form separate groups, it remains to be determined what their relationship is between themselves. AQ, as noted above, are correct, or rather preserve the transmitted text, in almost every case—of possible exceptions I have noted only 152, 14 ut Fp: et A, *om.* Q (a trivial error on the part of AQ, and a reading which might have been restored by Fp), 154, 23 palla Fp: pallas AQ (but, since *pallas* is also read by cbRO, the senior manuscripts of the Ψ tradition, this might well have been the reading of π), 159, 16 superbire Fp: subire AQ (which was probably restored from the context), and 162, 16 isse Fp: ipse AQ (which could also very easily have been restored from context). At 162, 6 the reading of the manuscripts is: (*distrahi ituris* correct) distrahita iris A, distrahi tairis Q, distrai turis p, distracturis F. What this shows, however, is not at all clear, but it hardly proves that Fp are superior to AQ, since the opposite development (*-ur-* from *-ir-*) is almost equally likely. Another curious passage is 155, 8 LEMNIACE AFpΨ, HOC LEMNIACE Q, HOC ET inserted before LEMNIACE F^2 (in a lemma: *hoc mihi Lemniacae* in Statius). This is probably, however, just coincidence. In addition, since at 151, 24 contigit Ψ A: contingit FpQ, 154, 21 iovis ΨA: iovem FpQ, 159, 20 consolantur ΨA: consolatur Fp, consolabitur Q, and 162, 20 nolentem ΨA: nolentes FpQ the correct reading of Ψ is found in A alone, since there is no evidence that A was interpolated from a Ψ family manuscript (indeed, from the date of A—tenth century—it is highly likely that Ψ, whose oldest descendant, c, is dated 1399, had not even been written), and since AQ are so much superior to Fp, the following stemma seems implied:



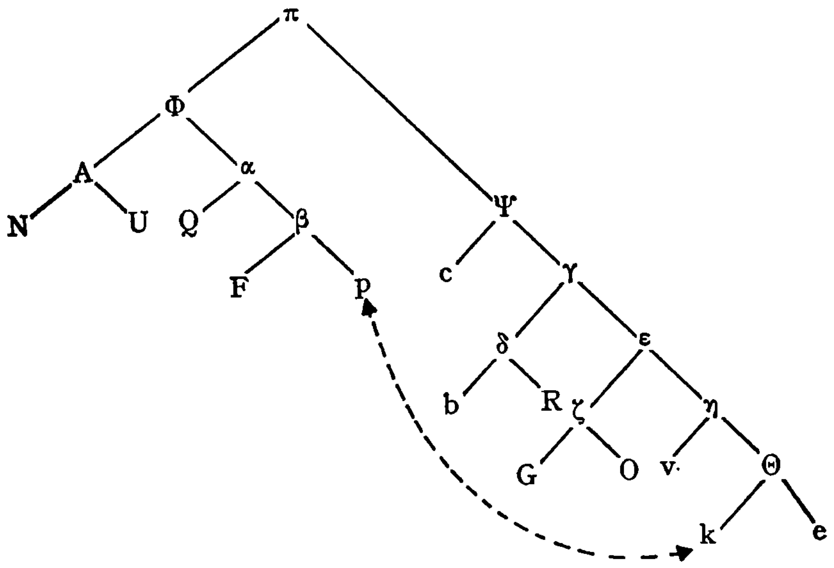
All told, A, the most senior descendant of π, apparently uninterpolated, in a fairly good state of preservation, and little injured by careless corruption or conjectural emendation, and F (in its original text) are our best sources for the readings of Φ.

In addition, it seems fairly clear that N(Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, MS. CVI) and U(Urbinas lat. 361) are derivative from A, and are thus *codices eliminandi*, both in the *Thebaid* and in the *Achilleid*, This is, of course, one of the most difficult things in the field of textual criticism to prove, since any mistake common to two manuscripts could, in theory, be derived from a third manuscript, the common ancestor of both. Thus even the fact that U, which seems to be a fair copy, without conjectures or even corrections, repeats the marginal catchwords of A—the level of accuracy in the copying of U is quite startlingly high, higher, on the whole, than that of almost any scholar's collation—could merely be evidence for relation. I shall here give only some of the more remarkable agreements: at the end of the *Achilleid* commentary, as noted, a very corrupt version of I, 444 and I, 472 is given, almost identical in ANU, the differences being trivial, at 161, 1 hebriciam ANU, 162, 16 ipse ANU, 162, 20 nolentem ANU, at 138, 20 REPENDIT *non* illegible, or nearly so, in A, REPENDIT (*om.* non) N, *om.* U, and in the *Achilleid* commentary in A there are many words or parts of words omitted, sometimes with a space left blank, repeated in these manuscripts, e.g., 492, 6 *om.* persequemur, *spat. rel.*, ANU, 492, 12 *om.* sciens, *spat. rel.*, ANU, 493, 4 *om.* timens, *nullo spat. rel.*, ANU, 497, 19 *om.* a Neptuno, *spat. rel.* AU, *nullo spat. rel.* N, 500, 21 *om.* Lu-, *spat. rel.*, *legens* calvis *pro* -cilius ANU, and so on. This agreement extends throughout the text. I have, however, found one good proof-case: 157, 11-12

ł belus ł Beli

velus. veli A, *corr. in* ve Λ lus. v Λ eli A^2 (a later—fifteenth century?—hand; the *-s* of *belus* is partially obscured by the *g* of *origo* above, and the two signs for *vel* are set fairly far away), vebelulus. vebelili U, vebelilus: Vebelili N. It is difficult to see how else to explain this, if NU are not derived from A corrected by A^2.

In summary, the stemma of the descendants of π is as follows:



(the connection between p and k is of uncertain nature; AF were corrected, and Q contaminated, from manuscripts of the Ψ tradition, and b was corrected, and Oζ were contaminated, from manuscripts of the Φ tradition).

In addition, the early printed editions seem to be derived solely from π, probably from an emended manuscript of the Φ class. These editions agree with Φ in all the places given before as characteristic of Φ as against Ψ (with the secondary errors 153, 17 non tamen and 158, 19-20, reading *abiiecit* in the Milan 1478 (?) edition, *abiecit* in the others, for *obicit*), except for 151, 10 inquit illa, 152, 9 consueverunt (*consuerunt* as in Φ in the Venice editions of 1483 and 1494), 152, 14 postea, 152, 21 exibat, 160, 12-13 deum credas (for *deum credis* Ψ) and 162, 9 filiorum desiderio, where the reading is that of Ψ, and 152, 25 carent, 155, 9 *om.*, 156, 11 *om.* genere, and 161, 8-9 *om.* Polluci instarent, *spat. rel.* (which could, however, have arisen from seeing that Φ's reading *luci staret* was nonsense), where the matter is undecidable. The opposition in none of these passages seems significant.

Of the editions printed before Lindenbrog I have been able to examine and collate six: Mombritius' [1] Milan edition of 1478(?),

[1] Boninus Mombritius (Bonino Mombrizio), a somewhat obscure humanist, was born in 1424 in Milan and died between 1482 and 1502. He was Professor of Rhetoric at Milan. Cf. Friedrich August Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philolo-*

the Romana 1480(?), and the Venetae of 1483, 1490, 1494, and 1498 (which I shall here refer to as a, b, c, d, e, and f, respectively). These are all the editions before Lindenbrog's whose existence I have been able to authenticate, except for the Veneta 1508, which is apparently a reprint of the Veneta 1498. Their readings—which account for most of the peculiarities of Lindenbrog's text (= L), and thus are usually reproduced under a false citation in Jahnke's apparatus—are very distinctive. The marginal scholia in MS. Bruxellensis 1723 (= D) also seem clearly to derive from a printed text, and not from a manuscript source. Agreement of all these sources is by far the most common, e.g. (citing only cases divergent from ΦΥ or any known manuscript), 151, 8 Iovis et Antiopae, 151, 9 est natus, 151, 21 ut iuvit, 152, 10 vultu, 152, 16 concipitis (D uncertain), 152, 22 lumen, 152, 22 modum, 153, 21 populi hi, 153, 23 vocatur (*pro* nominatur), and so on, and, in addition, there are numerous cases where Lindenbrog alone varies, e.g., 151, 9 qui *inser. ante* eius, est *inser. post* decoratus, 151, 16 sic (*pro* si^2), 151, 17 *om.* talia, 153, 6 *om.* accipere, 155, 8-9 *om.* LEMNIACAE . . . vincta fuit, 155, 10 Martis (*pro* Vulcani), 155, 17-18 *om.* cum Cadmo . . . hoc monile, 155, 20 per furorem, and so on. Indeed, the number of cases where the others vary among themselves in any but the most trivial details (which are, however, also frequently copied) is relatively small, yet, by comparison of their readings and those of Lindenbrog, some idea of the progress of this recopying, however tentative, may be attained.

The matter of priority between a and b is uncertain (cf. Chapter IV A below), but the probability is that a is the older, and I have adopted dates for these editions to indicate as much. To begin with, there are numerous readings, errors or patently facile corrections, in b not found in a or cef, but found in d, and occasionally in DL as well, so that a cannot be copied from b. Of these, I adduce the following as examples: 152, 15 *om.* optat, 152, 15-16 unam *pro* vanam, 152, 21 galae *pro* galeae, 153, 2 madentem *recte pro* mādentem, 153, 7-8 prorsus *bis pro* perosus, 153, 13 longna *pro* longa, 154, 7 consuletur *pro* consoletur, 154, 13 inter *pro* iter, 154, 17 dixerel. deo *pro* dixere ideo, 154, 21 timere *pro* temnere, 154, 23 tego *pro* tergo, 155, 3 socer *pro* socero, 155, 7 matre *pro* Marte, 155, 11 postquam *recte pro* posteaquam, 155, 16 hominis *pro*

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gorum, Leipzig, 1871, p. 380 and the *Enciclopedia Italiana* article on him (XXIII, (1934) p. 592) by Giuseppe De Luca.

ominis, 155, 17 hermione *pro* hermonie, 155, 19 assumpta *pro* absumpta, 156, 8 *Gr. litt. om., sp. rel.,* 156, 9 AENEA *pro* AENA, 156, 21 qui *recte pro* cui, 157, 7 soci *pro* socii, 157, 11 elei *pro* eli, 157, 14 Antigione *pro* Antigone, 157, 18 hemione *pro* hermione, 158, 24 ita *pro* ira, 159, 15 *om.* SUPERBIT, 159, 21 and 22 Assopon *bis pro* Asopon, 160, 21 sauromatas *pro* sarmatas, 160, 23 Bebrici *pro* Bebrycii, 161, 1 brebrytiam *pro* bebryciam, 161, 21 pares *pro* parares, 162, 7 doorum *pro* domorum, and 162, 13 io *pro* ibo. At 156, 10 the Veneta 1490 omits HYMENAEIS and at 158, 18 reads *evī* for *enim*, which are found in the Romana, but these are trivial misprints.

The natural assumption is that d was copied from b, with the possibility that DL are also from this same source, and that acef represent a separate tradition. In addition, the changes in these editions (albeit not consistently made) act to smooth over the text, and are much the sort one would expect from a Renaissance editor, who would aim at an easily readable text. All of these readings of b, I should like to stress, could be derived from a; there are no manuscripts (except D) which have any of the readings characteristic of these early editions; and there is no evidence of any possible early edition which could be the common source of a and b. Accordingly, I have assumed that Mombritius' edition is the source of the early printed vulgate.

The agreement between c and a is very close, as might be expected: I have noted several trivial errors and trivial corrections, but none of these are of any importance. Since there is no agreement with b, a is the only possible source for c. There are only a few variations of ef from c (such readings as 157, 10 serie a, ferie cef; 158, 19-20 abiiecit a, abiecit cef; 161, 21 vicimus a, vicinus cef—to name only a few examples—preclude the possibility that they might be copied from a directly), and there are even fewer differences between e and f (such readings as 157, 22 syderibus c, syderius ef; 158, 1 animo c, animi ef; 159, 4 quatrisulca (*vel* quad-) c, quatriscula ef; 162, 26 sed c, sub ef, and the like fairly well guarantee that f was copied from e). There is thus apparently a straight-line copying a→c→e→f.

The place of L in the stemma, to the extent that it derives its fabric from the *textus receptus* of the earlier printed editions, can be shown as follows (as usual the transmitted reading, that of a, is given first): 153, 2 mandentem a, mādentem cef, madentem bdL;

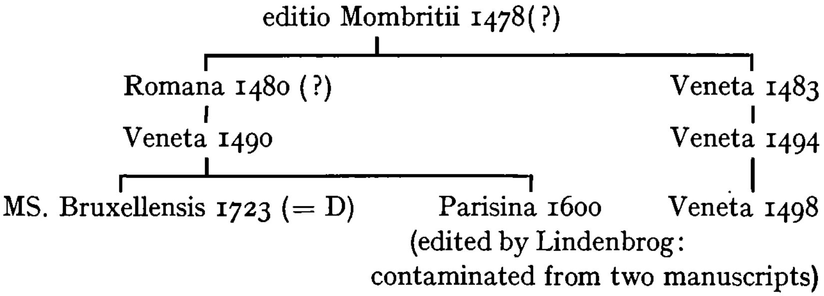
154, 13 iter acef, inter bdL (a reading which Jahnke does not give: Lindenbrog's text of Statius gives *iter*—apparently he did not note the difference when he sent his printed text with his changes to the printer); 155, 11 posteaquem acef, postquam bdL; 156, 8 απω-σιωπωσισ (*sic*) *litteris Graecis ante* aposioposis acef, aposioposis bdL; and 157, 11 eli acef, elei bdL. Lindenbrog, then, will have copied his basic textual fabric either from b or d: since his edition does show some signs of independent thought, it very often emends patent errors in bd, or could have emended errors in one or the other from his other sources, and I have not been able to determine from which of these two editions his text might have been copied. It seems more likely, though, that he would have had the relatively common 1490 Veneta edition at his disposal than the rather rarer Romana.

The position of D in the stemma can easily be shown by 152, 15 *om.* optat; 154, 7 consuletur; 155, 11 postquam; 155, 17 hermione; 156, 21 qui; 159, 15 *om.* SUPERBIT; 159, 21 *et* 22 Assopon *bis* to derive from b or d. Once again, as in the case of Lindenbrog's text, due to corrections by the scribe (copying by hand not being as mechanical as typesetting) it was impossible for me to determine the exact place of this copy in the stemma, and so I have assigned it to a likely place, as a copy of the 1490 Veneta rather than of the Romana. The point is, of course, trivial. Such readings of D as 152, 15-16 vanam and 161, 21 parares I take as corrections of the transmitted text well within the capacity of the scribe, rather than as evidence against this manuscript's ultimate derivation from the Romana. The scribe has, of course, made some errors and changes of his own: such omissions as 160, 21-22 *om.* Sauromatas. . . scelus and 159, 10-11 *om.* et est. . . legimus (III, 325, like III, 316 and 318, is given as a one-word gloss over the word explained) make it certain that this manuscript could not be the source of the vulgate or even of the Romana.

On the basis of the evidence presented above I have, accordingly, drawn up the following tentative *stemma editionum* (S. page 67). Future research might be able to decide the exact parentage of D and the Parisina 1600, but I cannot see the necessity of it.

II. The North European *Codices Veteres*

From the remarks on the manuscripts BEfKMmV made in the introduction to this chapter, it will be clear that setting up



a stemma for them will be difficult; accordingly, in addition to III, 205-386, which I have collated in all these manuscripts, I have chosen some fifty passages from Jahnke's apparatus which seemed to give promise of divisive error. Some of these, which proved to be significant, are cited below: it is almost certain that further consideration of larger portions of the text would reveal more such passages.

E, as already noted, consists in the main of the work of two scribes, which I shall distinguish, on the not too forced analogy of a corrector, as E^1 and E^2. E^1 is the same hand as the scribe of the manuscript: most of the scholia are in this hand, while E^2, apparently contemporary, merely adds some scholia to the collection written by E^1. The situation is thus quite different from that in K, where several hands are at work on the scholia, but in relays, and one would have reason to suspect *a priori* what proves true upon examination, that E^1 and E^2 are copied from different manuscripts, both excerpting the texts they must have had before them quite extremely.

To establish a stemma for these manuscripts (also including π, the lost ancestor of the Italian vulgate) compare 157, 11; 140, 17; and 159, 10-11:

157, 11 ius et iovis filius elus Km^1
iovis filius elus $fMVm^2$
elus iovis et iosae filius fuit E^2B
elus iovis fuit filius C
ius aliter ios et iovis filius elus π

erorum numinum fides ł offerri
140, 17 sup nativitatis posset auferre se M (*corr. per* M^2)
super nativitate posse auferre se f

au e
superorum numinum nativitas fides potuisset ọfferrị m (*corr. per* m^2)
superborum numinum fides nativitatis potuisset offerri E^1
super nativitates horum siderum|]sse auferre se fidem B
siderum posse se (*vel* se posse) auferre fidem π
(*schol. om.* K, *deest haec pars codicis* V)

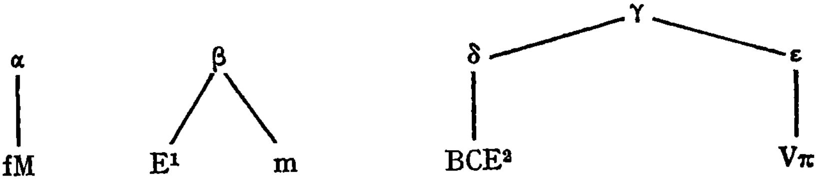
159, 10-11 *post* praeterit *inser.* ut "litoraque Epiri legimus" V, et est sermo nauticus. ut Virgilius: "litoraque Epiri legimus" π, *om.* BEfKMm.

In the first example, the first form is clearly correct. When Jupiter was the father, it would be plainly ridiculous, and against the usage of Lactantius Placidus, to mention this and omit the name of the mother (cf. 351, 27 Iovis et Ios (*sic*) filium, according to Jahnke, 352, 6-7 Minos et Rhadamanthus Iovis et Europae filii, 151, 8 Amphion et Zethus, Antiopae et Iovis filii, and 231, 9 Iovis et Europae filius, to choose only a few examples): the desire to omit unknown names and apparently nonsensical words is to be found wherever a scribe desires a neat text, as in CfMV and the corrector of m, so is of no stemmatic value; in short, the first example proves only that BE^2 (and C) form a group (the reading *elus* for the correct *Epaphus* being one of the many archetypal errors in Lactantius Placidus which tend to show that this archetype was later than the autograph, i.e., that there are not two independent traditions going back to a double recension by the author).

The second example shows what is clearly necessary to understand for the transmission of the text, that the archetype must have contained alternate readings (as will be seen below). Here the archetype must have read approximately as does M corrected by M^2; *-erorum numinum* is patently an intrusive gloss, *fides* is necessary for the sense, and *auferre se/ offerri* are alternate readings relating different ideas—which, if either, might be correct is irrelevant to the present argument—of the origin of religion (N.B.: *non* in 140, 18 is found in E^1 alone, so must be considered a conjecture). fM, then, form a group, since the readings of f are merely those of M with some assimilative changes (reading *posse* since f omits *quia* in 140, 16); so do E^1m, which have brought the first two of these three readings down into the line, with small variations which exclude the possibility that one could be copied from the other. In

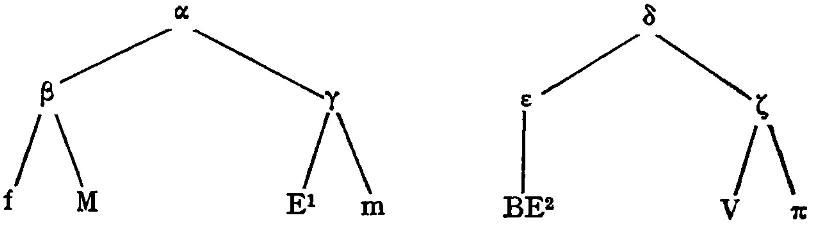
Bπ the first reading has been ousted, and another explanatory gloss (*horum*) *siderum* has intruded, while the alternate reading *offerri* has disappeared altogether.

The third example shows that Vπ form a group, which, together with the evidence of the preceding examples, enables us to set up the following partial stemmata:



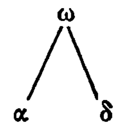
(the further evidence for the place of C is so scanty that it will henceforth temporarily not be included). The relationship between αβ as against γ is also shown by one of the most clearly divisive errors in the text of Lactantius Placidus: 279, 2 (the correct reading being *Iolci*) *hiulci* E[1]mfM, *illius loci* BVπ. (Lindenbrog's *codex Pithoeanus*, it should be noted, also read *hiulci*, thus showing that it belonged to the better group: I have not, however, been able to find any readings among the few he gives to enable me to say anything more about its place in the stemma.) In α, by 140, 17 M is not derived from f, and by 156, 23, where M has the obvious *pervenerunt*, while f has the archetypal and probably correct (though odd) historical present *perveniunt*, f is not derived from M. In δ, the fragmentary nature of E[2] excludes the possibility that B might be derived from it, while this same fragmentary nature has prevented me from excluding absolutely the possibility that E[2] might be derived from B. In ε, the omissions of V, e.g. 155, 9-156, 9 *quamquam*...*fortia*, exclude the possibility π could have been copied from V, while V could not have been copied from π, since it does not share the characteristic readings of the Italian vulgate enumerated above.

The stemma can thus be reduced to the following:

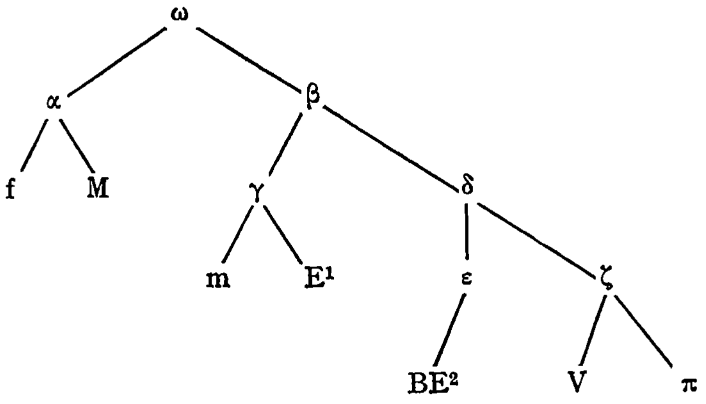


with no evidence for the place of K. By 279, 2 δ cannot be the archetype, i.e., the stemma type δ is impossible, and either α
| |
α δ

or



There are, however, many cases in which fM present a correct reading, and the other manuscripts agree in error, e.g., 152, 2 decretum M, decretu f, decreti KmVπ, 153, 15 Tydeo credat fM, credant E^2, *om.* BKmπ, 154, 6 di fM, dii KmVπ, 154, 20 arma fM, amata BKmVπ, donata E, and 162, 10 sunt fM, *om.* BKmVπ. Therefore, the true stemma must be:



(it being also possible that there was some contamination between a manuscript descended from ε and E^1, since many of the "new" scholia in the Paris. 10317 which are also, as noted above, in the Bambergensis, seem to be in the first hand, while, if my notes are correct, the *soli illi* of E at 158, 2 for the archetypal *soli*, also found in B, is in the first hand—the question deserves further research).

Other examples of these groups are as follows: Mf agree in error at 154, 22 IAM Vπ, UT IAM fM (no evidence for mEBKV), 152, 21

exibat mEKΨ, exiebat fMΦ, exhibebat V, and probably also at 158, 21 excidia mBKVπ, excidium fM (and also, I believe, E), while at 154, 14 ideoque fM, ideo et mKVπ and 153, 13 QUAE fM, CUI Vπ they are probably correct, while I have also noted the agreements E^1m at 155, 17 armoniae E^1m, (a)ermoniae fM (p also), hermione π and 140, 16 quia M, quia eorum E^1m, suis Bπ, *om.* f (that part of V being lacking and the scholium being omitted in K); Vπ at 315, 7 scalpsit MEmB, salpsit f, produxit Vπ and 355, 29 extenso ME, exrenso fm, *om.*, *spat. rel.*, B, *om.* Vπ; Bπ (V being lacking) at 140, 16, noted above, and BVπ at 106, 3-6, where the scholium *VIDUAQUE . . . timeo* is found, by interpolation, only in these manuscripts.

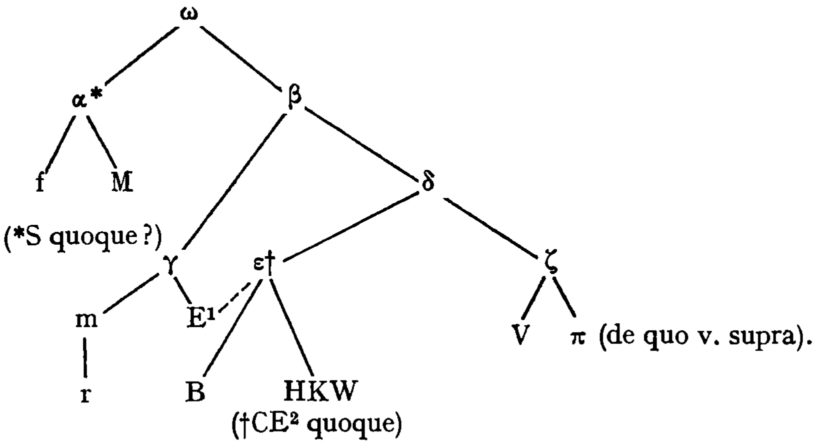
One further definite derivation can be made: at Rome, in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, there is a carelessly written and much corrupted manuscript (C. 60) which, it can be shown, was copied from m. This manuscript (which will be called here r) is of the (probably late) fifteenth century; we know that m, despite its probably North European provenance, was in Italy long before this, since, as was noted above, the loss of a few folia was remedied by insertions in the hand of Boccaccio, who died in 1375. Not only are the errors in m repeated in r, except for a few very simple corrections, but also many purely mechanical features of m are reproduced in r. Thus, for example, shorter scholia in m are usually placed interlinearly, as glosses, e.g., at III, 208, 226, 234-241, 242 (COLUS gloss only), 250, and so on: these are invariably omitted in r. The scholia to III, 209 and 216 are reversed in mr; in m, *alibi* at 153, 9 is omitted in its proper place, and inserted, with notes of omission, after *femineum*: the same order is found in r, the scribe not noticing the marks of omission; at 154, 11 in place of the lemma MORTALIA CREDAS are found in mr the words *Et attoniti i. m. c. p.* (*atoniti* and *.i.* in r), a case of taking the lemma from the text of Statius, rather than transmitting it. A very distinctive error is found in r, which skips from 155, 5 to 157, 10, omits 157, 21-24, and then after 158, 6 returns to 155, 8. The text then proceeds as far as 157, 9, omits 157, 10-20, gives 157, 21-24, and skips to 158, 8, after which the text is continuous. The explanation is quite simple: 155, 6-7 is omitted and 158, 6-7 is an interlinear gloss in m, and 157, 10-20 and 158, 1-6 are omitted from their place and inserted in the top margin of the page which begins at 155, 8 and ends at 157, 24. (The marginal scholia on the succeeding page

thus begin at 158, 8.) It would, I think, be useless to multiply evidence further.

Some points can also be made about the unclassified manuscripts, C (Parisinus 8055), H (the fragmentum Cassellanum), W (the Werden manuscript), and S (the Monacensis Clm. 17206). S, which contains VI, 811 to the end only, seems in its readings more to resemble fM than any others (not surprising, considering that these three manuscripts are all of Bavarian origin), but unfortunately this manuscript, like E and K, omits a great many scholia, and of the passages I chose for excerpting in the section covered in S, none proved divisive which was also found in S (a misfortune also experienced with K). A possible exception is 388, 9; sminarum *ex* smiarum M, sinicrum fV(B ?π ?), smiarum (*l* sinicrum *superscr.* S[1]) S, smicronem m, spinicrum E, *om. schol.* K, where S seems to preserve a double reading of the common ancestor of fM.

In addition to the reading of 157, 11, cited above, which shows that C is closely related to BE², note that at 157, 14 CE²K read correctly (along with M and Q), while the other manuscripts read *sine neae*, *sinemee*, or variations thereof (B reading *smineae*) and at 83, 8-9 (where unfortunately I was unable to read the scholium in B, which was almost obliterated), CHK all place *quare . . . ultimus*, for no apparent reason, after *ignoratur* (line 10) (note that this scholium in E is in the first hand). This would seem to show that these three manuscripts are closely related, and to these should be added, as noted above, BE² and also, apparently, W, which is in agreement with K at 160, 8, where these two alone insert *deum* post *rerum*, 160, 10, where these two manuscripts, again alone, omit the *s*, which is the transmitted reading for the correct *sollicitat*, and 160, 19, where these two, again alone (B gives witness in opposition in all three of these cases, as it does at 161, 9, where it reads *luci starent* with E¹ Φ (*-et*) against the *Polluci instarent* of MmWΨ, there being no witness for KV), read *amazonum*, the others reading *amazonarum*. Thus BCE²HKW form a group, which might almost be called a "central German vulgate" (the known provenances of this group being Echternach, for E, Werden, for W, and Hasunga, near Kassel, for H, while B may very well have been written at Bamberg and C, from the Abbey of Saint-Denis, may also be of central German provenance or ancestry). H also agrees exactly with K at 74, 16 et est hic sol proprio nomine vocatus

(omitted by B), 78, 9 deesse (where B reads *deest*), and 81, 10 audax (not found in fMm, the whole scholium omitted in E, and that part of V being lacking) against *ausus* B, *audens* π. Thus, considering all of this evidence together, we get the provisional stemma:



As was noted above, certain variants can only be explained on the assumption that there were alternate and interlinear readings in ω. Alternate readings in an archetype can be transmitted in several different ways. They may be preserved as alternates with one or the other between the lines (either in the same hand, or in that of a contemporary corrector using the same manuscript as a source), they may both be placed in the line (as, e.g., in π at 157, 11 ius aliter ios et iovis), or one or the other may appear exclusively, in which case the other may well be lost. A good example of this is 157, 24 supplex mKπ, simplex B, implex f, simplex (*superscr.* sup- M²)M, supplex vel simplex V, *schol. om.* E, where all of these processes took place. Another, quite complicated, example of what could happen has already been given, at 140, 17 (cf. pp. 67-69 above). Examples of insertions which must have been archetypal are 151, 23 hoc Mm, hoc et illud fKV, hoc illud π, 154, 21 (given before: the *iras*, in different places in M and m, must have been a conjecture in ω), 160, 18 populi sunt Scythiae *post* Sauromatae *inser.* fmBV, *non inser.* MEKπ, 160, 19-20 ad quos . . . potestas Romanorum fMm² (*leg.* Romanorum potestas, *in margine*) B (*ante* vicini) V (*leg.*

pervenerat), *om.* mEK (*scholium fin. cum* amazonarum E^1, *non supplevit* E^2), and 162, 18 (apparently) *post* queritur *inser.* autem Mm. Variants are 161, 9 Polluci instarent MmWΨ, luci starent fE^1BΦ (*leg.* -et), which, with its split extending into π, can hardly be explained otherwise, and perhaps 157, 9 ? with its *-os/-oc* split throughout, 158, 9 ? perdam E^1mKVπ, quidem (*superscr.* perdam M^2) M, quidam f, quam B (unless *quam* is a secondary error, caused by the succeeding *quam*, and the variant was at α alone), and 224, 8 ? lana fE^2V, arana Mmπ, arma *ex* arana K, where the *ar-*, arising from the succeeding *aris*, gave rise to the variant, but it is hard to see how it could have done so so often or, alternatively, how *lana* could have been restored in these three places.

Setting aside the cases given above, and errors which could easily have arisen independently from accommodation to nearby forms and constructions, changed from the context, mistaken forms common in the Middle Ages, elementary conjectural restorations, simple resemblance, and the like, I have found only one case which seems difficult: 74, 16 pepis(s)o Mπ, proprio nomine fE^1HK, *schol. om.* mB, with this part of V missing. Since, in that curious tangle of repetitions at the end of Book I, almost the same sentence, with *proprio nomine*, had been given shortly before at 73, 21, it would have been very easy to insert this as a gloss over, or correction of, *pepisso*. I have not been able to divine what the correct reading here might be.

This brings us to a consideration of the archetype, ω. Considering that a great many of the scriptoria at which the various manuscripts were written, such as the three Bavarian scriptoria, Freising, Tegernsee, and Scheftlarn, Echternach, St. Amand (?), and Werden, were centers of Insular influence, it is not surprising that originally Insular abbreviations and symbols—such as *a̅t* for *autem*, *q* for *quod*, the capital *n* symbol for *enim*, the reversed *c* for *con-*, $\overset{i}{m}$ and $\overset{i}{t}$ for *mihi* and *tibi* (the latter liable to confusion with *l* for *vel*, as, for example, at 153, 13)—and confusions based on these abbreviations, such as the *conquestio/eius questio/ea questio/* confusion at 341, 4 (if Jahnke's note reads as it should), are not uncommon. This in itself proves nothing. Even the numerous confusions of *enim* and *autem* (at, e.g., 23, 10, 91, 23, 135, 15, 246, 4, and so on) do not in themselves prove an archetype in Insular script, since the *ħ* symbol for *autem* is not unknown in Continental

script written under Insular influence.[1] I have noted, in addition, only one case of an *s/n* confusion (369, 26-27 a ferissimis/afferis nimis), one case of an *s/p* confusion (Aegyptus/egistus in several places— 37, 25, 38, 2, 38, 4, 96, 5, 96, 9, 265, 20, 312, 25, 313, 1, and 157, 12—i.e., whenever it is the name of the mythological figure, the brother of Danaus, but not, as in 250, 9 and 14, 311, 10, 351, 28, 370, 29, and 396, 2 and 9, when it refers to the country: Jahnke, incredibly enough, changes *egistus* to *Aegyptus* throughout, except at 157, 12, at which place he has a note referring to an earlier passage where he did make this change!), three possible cases of an *n/r* confusion (366, 6 penitus/peritus, 370, 5 enim/eram, and 483, 12 senio/serio) and one case of a *g/z* confusion (371, 7 zeuma/geuma), as well as V, 163 (271, 15) where the passage from Euripides (identified by Porson, and later, independently, by Bücheler), *Orestes*, 675-6 <ποτωμένην> (which I believe must be supplied)/ ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ σοῦ, has been corrupted in such a way, i.e., ψυχὴν to siy seen- M, surse en- K sir seen (*ex* senen) p, that it indicates that the original was an Insular *sisseen*, with the second *s* corrupted variously into *r* and *y*. These seem to indicate that the text passed through a manuscript in Insular script, either the archetype or some ancestor of the archetype. This can, however, hardly be considered more than a hypothesis at the present, due to the scantiness and unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, until such time as we have a full and accurate collation of the relevant manuscripts—note that some of the errors in Funaioli's or my own list, both taken from Jahnke's apparatus, may be found only in certain manuscripts of the Italian vulgate.

More certain is that the archetype contained variants, which has already been proved above, and that at some stage prior to the archetype (the almost universal agreement of Mπ in lemmata, although not necessarily in the length of the lemmata, and in the order of scholia, even when patently in error, shows that it must have been pre-archetypal) the text was written in the margin of a manuscript of the *Thebaid*, without lemmata.[2] Upon separation

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[1] Funaioli noted this, in lists (*Esegesi virgiliana antica*, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-502) some examples in which are wrong, e.g., *dum* for *autem* at III,597 and VIII, 250 arises from *aū* for *autem*, an abbreviation *not* typical of Insular manuscripts, or highly doubtful.

[2] Funaioli had already noted (*ibid.*, p. 449) that it must have been in the margin.

from the margin, when a continuous commentary was formed,[1] the lemmata (which were probably indicated by some sort of symbol over the relevant words in the text of the *Thebaid*) [2] were carelessly added, with many errors, and a certain amount of confusion in the order of the scholia was introduced. This process is illustrated by r, copied, as we have seen, from m: since scholia can not be accommodated strictly *pari passu* with the text mechanical displacement must occur, which is then copied as it stands on the page, and thus rendered irremediable.[3] I consider it somewhat unlikely that there were any further changes back and forth between a continuous text and marginal scholia in the direct line of descent of π, due to the substantial agreement of M and π in lemmata and order of scholia noted before. There were thus at least two pre-archetypal manuscripts before ω: one in which the scholia stood in the margin, and the author's autograph. Whether any further steps intervened is uncertain.

If, however, the commentary was preserved, probably in Insular script, in the margin of a manuscript of the *Thebaid*, which could hardly have been later than the eighth century, the question arises as to what manuscript of the *Thebaid* this could be. To settle this question it will be necessary to consider briefly the history of the text of the *Thebaid*.

Klotz, in the introduction to his edition of the *Thebaid* (*op. cit.* pp. XL-LXII), showed that in the eighth century there existed two manuscripts, the exemplar of P and the exemplar of ω, both in Insular script, and he assumes (p. LXII) that the exemplar of P copied readings from the exemplar of ω, and that the readings of P were copied into various descendants of ω.[4] He also shows (pp.

[1] Not, I believe, for the first time, since I consider it likely that the scholia were originally written in the form of a commentary by Lactantius Placidus, and then broken up and written in the margin of a manuscript of the *Thebaid* at some later date *pari passu* with the text, a practice of which the Bruxellensis 1723 provides an example.

[2] An example of the indication of the lemmata of scholia by the use of symbols over the relevant words is provided by the Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 54.

[3] This process, I think, also took place in V, whose displacements and occasionally idiosyncratic lemmata, e.g., III, 296 and 302 (first scholium) inverted, 326-328 and 325 inverted, 350 and 351 inverted, 352 lemma omitted, 378 IBO as lemma, for the transmitted IBOQUE, can best be explained by assuming that its immediate ancestor, probably copied from ζ, since they are not found in π, presented the text in the form of marginal scholia.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. LX-LXVI; but note that this contradicts his conclusion

LXVI-LXVII), that the corrector of P must have known the scholia. P he assumes to be descended from the *codex Iuliani v. c.* (which was without scholia), not later than the fifth or sixth century, which was obtained (or a copy of which was obtained) by Aelberht, Archbishop of York, the teacher of Alcuin, in Rome. A copy of this, in turn, was taken from York to the court of Charlemagne by Alcuin, whence P was copied, probably at Corbie. The exemplar of ω, on the other hand, was derived from Gaul, as shown by a reference to the scholia found in Sulpicius Severus: Klotz states (p. LXXI), "verisimile esse arbitror vulgatae stirpem in Gallia saeculis quinto ac sexto pullulasse. post saeculum certe sextum num omnino a quoquam ibi lectus sit Statius, admodum dubium est".

Klotz's arguments, as far as I know, the only arguments ever advanced for identifying P as the descendant of the copy taken by Alcuin to the Continent,[1] are two: P is full of errors showing derivation from a manuscript in Insular script (p. XLII), and the text of P is similar to that quoted by Priscian and, in the *Achilleid*, to E, the Etoniensis, of the eleventh century, written in Beneventan script. The first argument is pointless, since he himself shows (pp. LVI-LX) that the exemplar of ω was written in Insular script. As for the second, four warnings must be issued: first, it is not necessarily the case that P derived its text from a single source, the same in the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*. Professor Dilke noted, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Achilleid* (*op. cit.*, p. 25), that his MS. C of the *Achilleid* did not do so, and that BKQ probably did not, and in his stemma tentatively shows E as contami-

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on p. LXVI, "quibus ex locis recte mihi videor concludere ultra P lectiones illas communes ascendere. itaque ubicumque unus vel complures ex codicibus ω cum P consentiunt, aut huius exemplar aut ipsum Iuliani codicem manifesto tenemus."

[1] The origin of the belief in "illo exemplo principe, quod secundum Alcuini testimonium septimo vel octavo saeculo in Britanniam delatum bibliotheca Eboracensis continebat" seems to go back only to the source of this quotation, Kohlmann's 1879 Teubner edition of the *Achilleid*, p. VI, and, in Kohlmann's typically inept fashion, is based on an inaccurate conflation of Otto Mueller's statements (in *Quaestiones Statianae*, Prog. des Gymnasiums zum grauen Kloster, Berlin, 1861, pp. 6 and 8, "Verum constat eadem" (*sc.* s. VII) "aut proxima aetate Statium lectum esse in patria Roffensis illius codicis Britannia, quae terra tutius tunc temporis ab inpetu barbarorum refugium praebebat litterarum studiis ex Italia exturbatis" and "Achilleidem cum Thebaide coniunctam fuisse in exemplo principe quod septimo vel octavo saeculo in Britanniam delatum est . . ."

nated from a manuscript of the P class and one of the ω class,[1] nor is this unlikely, since manuscripts of the ω class were certainly very widely diffused by the eleventh century, and it is not unlikely that some manuscript, related somehow more closely to P than to ω, survived in Italy from late antiquity. Second, manuscripts travelled widely, and it can not be argued from the similarity of P (written at Corbie) and E (written in Italy) either that an immediate ancestor of P or even the source of E was written in Italy. Third, the text of Statius in Priscian is not so uniformly like P as Klotz's remarks would lead one to believe: the citations in Priscian [2] in several cases agree strongly with ω against P, just as do the readings implied by the text (not the lemmata, which obviously cannot be relied upon) of the Lactantian scholia.[3] I shall return later to what this might mean, but it certainly does not prove that an immediate ancestor of P was Italian. Fourth, it is extremely curious to argue that P must be descended from a copy taken by Alcuin from York to the Continent because the text of P is similar to texts known in Italy in late antiquity. This incredible logic has been brought about by a linking of facts and hypotheses: first, at the end of Book IV of the *Thebaid* in P is a subscription beginning CODEX IULIANI V. C., which everyone has assumed, with how much reason I shall examine below, stood in an ancestor of P; second, it was assumed that this Julianus, who, were he called *vir clarissimus*, could not have lived later than the sixth century, lived in Italy;[4] third, Klotz asserted that Alcuin's teacher Aelberht brought a manuscript of Statius from Italy to York; fourth, it was suspected that this manuscript was the *codex Iuliani v. c.* itself,[5] in capitals; fifth, it was conjectured that Alcuin, when called to the court of Charlemagne, carried a copy

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[1] Vaticanus latinus 3281, a practically unknown manuscript of the twelfth century in Beneventan script, of which I have made a full collation, is also of this type, as is Dilke's R.

[2] Cf. Klotz's article, "Probleme der Textgeschichte des Statius," *Hermes* XL (1905), pp. 341 ff. Paul Dierschke, *De fide Prisciani in versibus Vergilii Lucani Statii Iuvenalis examinata*, Diss. Greifswald 1913, pp. 78-85, does not add anything relevant to Klotz's arguments or evidence.

[3] As shown, again by Klotz, in his article "Die Statiusscholien," *A.L.L.G.* XV (1908), pp. 487-501.

[4] Chatelain and Vollmer, as Klotz noted in the introduction to his edition of the *Achilleid*, *op. cit.*, p. XX, n. 1, wanted to identify him with the Julianus to whom Priscian dedicated his great work, a conjecture which Klotz rightly calls "speciosa quidem, sed incertissima."

[5] Klotz, *Thebaid*, *op. cit.*, XLII.

of this manuscript to Aachen with him, about which Garrod said (*Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. vi), "Albinum secum in Galliam exemplar aliquod huius libri (p) tulisse non mireris: immo non tulisse mirabile esset;" sixth (what has already been exploded), that because the copy must have been in Insular script, and because the exemplar of P must have been in Insular script, therefore this copy must have been the exemplar of P.

Let us examine the links in this chain. Link six has already been broken; link five certainly seems likely, though unprovable [1]; link four, if links one through three hold, is also quite possible; link two is also quite possible, though uncertain, since *viri clarissimi* need not have resided in Italy. But the third point can not be substantiated. It is quite possible that Aelberht did acquire such a manuscript in Italy—although Rome is really a less likely place, in that age, to find such a manuscript than northern France—but to say, as Klotz does (*Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. XLII), "nam adportasse eum codicem aliquem Stati discipulus testatur Alcuinus," is simply not true. In his poem, *De sanctis Euboracensis ecclesiae*, line 1553 (not line 1552, as in Klotz) he notes that there was a manuscript or manuscripts of Statius at York, in his list of the authors whose works were to be found there. This is all he says; no mention is made of the place of origin of this manuscript or any other manuscript—indeed, it is to be noted that, at lines 1457 ff., where Alcuin describes Aelberht's visit to Rome, he makes no mention of acquiring any manuscripts at all. If there should be any justification for this conjecture, I do not know, but it is certainly not to be found in this poem.

The first point alone remains. Such subscriptions of owners, copyists, emendators, and editors are not uncommon in our manuscripts of various authors, and much nonsense has been written about them. Housman, as usual, spoke out against this with rancor and acid sarcasm. In the introduction to his edition of Lucan

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[1] One would be interested to know whether there is any evidence for Alcuin taking *any* manuscripts with him to the Continent. Books were rare and expensive items, and unless Charlemagne provided him with funds to hire copies made or to buy the originals (which seems unlikely), it is hard to see how this could have been accomplished. We do know that Alcuin later asked Charlemagne to send boys to York to copy some of the literary treasures there (cf. his letter in *M.G.H.* Epp. IV, 2, no. 121 (p. 177)), but we do not know whether this request was granted. (I am thankful to Miss Virginia Brown for bringing this letter to my attention).

(Oxford, 1926 and later printings, pp. xvi-xviii) he pointed out that this sort of *Überlieferungsgeschichte* is based on faulty reasoning. Because of its cogency and relevance I shall recapitulate his argument. In one manuscript of Juvenal there is a subscription, "legi ego Niceus apud M. Serbium Rome et emendavi," written at the beginning of Satire VI (Book II) and in another (both manuscripts are inferior) the same words were added in the margin at VII, 4 by the hand that wrote the scholia. Housman says (p. xvi), "We know therefore that one Niceus once corrected a copy of Juvenal, perhaps in the school of the famous Servius about the end of the fourth century. We know no more. We do not know that even the cod. Laur. is descended from that copy; for in the cod. Leid. we see the subscriptio foisted into a manuscript to which it did not belong, and the same thing may have happened to some ancestor of the other codex." Precisely the same logic applies to the P of Statius: indeed, by Klotz's own argument that the exemplar of P received some readings from the exemplar of ω, it is just as probable to argue that this subscription (which is certainly at an odd place in P) was in the exemplar of ω, whence it was copied by the exemplar of P, but not, unfortunately, by the scribe of ω. Thus all the other manuscripts of Statius may be little *codices Iuliani v. c.*, and P alone not of this origin. But since, as I have shown, the whole chain connecting this shadowy figure of late antiquity, Aelberht the Archbishop of York, Alcuin, and a monk at Corbie of s. IX ex./X in. has broken down—indeed, if Alcuin did take such a manuscript across the Channel with him, I see no reason why it could not as well have been the exemplar of ω as the exemplar of P, or, for that matter, neither of them or, indeed, (the *reductio ad absurdum*) why he could not have carried two manuscripts copied from two different manuscripts of Statius at York, since in his poem he states only that "Statius" is found there, not how many manuscripts there were or what they contained—and since, after all, all that can be said with any certainty is that, in late antiquity, a certain nobleman named Julianus owned a manuscript of the *Thebaid* (and possibly, not certainly, of the *Achilleid*), what is the profit? To quote Housman again (this time on some of the manuscripts of Lucan) in the same preface (p. xiv): "But what knowledge could be more worthless? How is criticism helped? They must be derived from some source: what does it matter if their source was a copy corrected by one Paulus of Con-

stantinople? The readings are none the better nor the worse for that, and are still to be judged on their merits."

There still remains, not yet cleared away, the argument that ω is descended from a line of those manuscripts of Statius of which Klotz said (p. LXXI), "vulgatae stirpem in Gallia saeculis quinto ac sexto pullulasse." Two arguments are adduced for this: (p. LXX) that Alcimus Avitus, Bishop of Vienne at the end of the fifth century, quotes at III, 345 *verendos*, the reading that is found in ω, which argument, however, he immediately gives up, since he is not sure that *verendus* in P is not in error (I need hardly point out how feeble this argument is), and (p. LXXI) that Sulpicius Severus, who lived in Gaul in the latter part of the fourth century, seems to refer to the scholium to VIII, 751, to which he adds, "scholia autem cum argumentis a Iulianea stirpe aliena sunt." This is stated as a truism, yet the case is simply this: it has never been conclusively shown that any other manuscript of the *Thebaid* contains a text derived from any other source than from ω and from contamination from P itself,[1] so that the only representative of Klotz's "Iulianea stirps" (or at least the only one known to Klotz) is P itself, which does not contain scholia or metrical arguments. But among the manuscripts of the ω family there are quite a few which contain no arguments, and I would say that probably not half of them

[1] Donald E. Hill, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Thebaid*", *C.Q.* XVI (1966), pp. 333-346, seems to have shown fairly conclusively, by means of a collation of Books I, II, V, and X, 1-218 in Parisinus 8054 (δ) and Bruxellensis 5337 (t), and of X, 1-218 in the Matritensis 10039 (Θ), and an inspection of all places in each of these manuscripts where there is a lacuna or a spurious or doubtful line in any manuscript, that all three of these manuscripts belong, in fact, to the common family and not to that of P, and thus has rendered invalid the efforts of Jacques Boussard (in "Un manuscrit inédit de la Thébaïde de Stace," *R.E.L.* XIV (1936), pp. 95-101, repeated, without change or additional evidence in his article of 1952 previously cited, pp. 240-242) to include in this class the Matritensis 10039 and to exalt a thirteenth century manuscript, Parisinus 8054, to the level of P—or even above—(I find his arguments, that this manuscript was better than P because often in agreement with ω, from which it was completely independent—presumably because it more often agrees with P—and yet not copied from P because it often has the same readings as ω, simply unintelligible) —and O. A. W. Dilke in "The Value of the Puteanus of Statius," *Acta Classica* V (1962), pp. 58-63, who points out however (p. 59), that "no readings in *Th.* X, 1-274 of δ or of Θδt which are not also found in some or all other manuscripts represent the right tradition." Until we know more about later manuscripts, I would feel that it is too early to declare that there is a separate source of this tradition independent of P.

contain any scholia (as distinct from glosses and variants) at all. It is not necessarily even certain that the exemplar of P did not contain scholia.

What remains from these arguments is this: in Carolingian times[1] there existed two manuscripts of the *Thebaid* in Insular script, having a common ancestor in a manuscript in majuscules in late antiquity, but no common minuscule ancestor (cf. *ibid.*, p. LXIX), from one of which P was descended, and from the other one of which ω was copied.[2] One of these manuscripts may have been brought from England by Alcuin of York; if so, we have no idea of its origin or ancestry, except what has just been said. We do not know that either was—the manuscript at York, like so many known to us in the Middle Ages, may since have vanished without trace or progeny—nor, if either was, which one was, nor, indeed, can we discard the possibility, highly improbable though it be, that both were. We also know, since we have read it in P, that in late antiquity one Julianus, *vir clarissimus*, owned a manuscript of the *Thebaid*, but this information is worse than useless, that is, misleading.

Klotz argued, as we have seen, that the variants in P, either by the first hand or by the corrector, and in many manuscripts of the common class, were derived from mutual contamination, from the exemplar of ω (unless Klotz means ω) to the exemplar of P, and from P, or the exemplar of P (or even his *codex Iuliani v. c.*), into various of the common manuscripts. This seems suspicious: if,

[1] B. L. Ullman, in "A List of Classical Manuscripts (in an Eighth-Century Codex) perhaps from Corbie," *Scriptorium* VIII (1954), pp. 24-37, notes that a volume of Statius' *Thebaid* is listed in Berlin MS. Diez. B. Sant. 66, s. VIII ex., perhaps from Corbie. He notes (p. 32) that "The early Statius tradition is entirely French" (he ignores Alcuin's testimony entirely) "and centers particularly in Corbie," where, he points out, P, S (Parisinus lat. 13046), the oldest manuscript of the ω family, and perhaps also N (the Cheltenham manuscript) and Paris. nouv. acq. lat. 1627 were written, and suggests that "It may well be that the *Thebaid* codex in the Berlin catalogue was the archetype of all the manuscripts except P." This opinion is contradicted by Bernhard Bischoff, in "Hadoardus and the Classical Mss. from Corbie," *Didascaliae, Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda* (ed. by Sesto Prete), New York, 1961, pp. 56-57, who feels that it is rather a catalogue of the Court Library of Charlemagne.

[2] I here use ω, as throughout, to designate the ancestor of the common class: it is impossible always to tell whether this is what Klotz means, since he uses ω, as far as I can tell, rather indiscriminately to designate the ancestor of the common class and the common class itself.

for example, readings from P or one of its ancestors were scattered abroad widely at an early date, why was not, for example, the loss in ω of X, 100-105 and 112-117 supplied in the earlier manuscripts?[1] Conversely, if the exemplar of P, part of whose variants were given by the first hand, and part by the corrector (cf. *ibid.*, pp. LXVI-LXVIII), as is usually the case, was interpolated so copiously from the other tradition, why are so many lacunae to be found uncorrected in P ?

Klotz's explanations, lists of similarities, which consist in large part of trivial errors, and apparatus, in short, are mares' nests. The correct explanation of this matter is directly at hand: both the exemplar of P and the exemplar of ω contained variants.[2] The distribution of these variants is exactly as described above: sometimes one and sometimes the other is received into the text, and the remaining variant is either omitted or inserted by the first hand, a corrector, or a later hand between the lines or in the margin, or, *mirabile dictu*, even inserted in the line.[3] In addition, what is most important, since these variants were transmitted under capricious conditions (thus P, for example, which is, after all, only a single manuscript, need not show the variant for it to be genuine), contamination need not be assumed, and no stemmatic value can be attached to their occurrence or omission, and, in a sufficiently large text (this is almost true in the *Thebaid*), every manuscript would agree at some point in the tradition with every other manuscript.

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[1] Verses 100-103 are found in some late manuscripts, and 112-115 in only one known to Klotz, also late, cf. the preface to his edition, p. XLIII, and his apparatus. Cf. also Dilke, "The Value of the Puteanus of Statius," *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, which gives a new apparatus for this passage, largely due to Mr. R. D. Williams of Reading University.

[2] This was the conclusion of Nicola Terzaghi, "Il codice *P* e l'*Achilleide* di Stazio," *B.P.E.C.* N.S. IV (1956), p. 14, concerning the *Achilleid*, of which Dilke, "The Value of the Puteanus of Statius," *op. cit.*, p. 63, approves and seems to wish to extend to the *Thebaid* as well.

I am pleased to note that now Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338 has arrived at substantially the same conclusion starting from different evidence. I would be more inclined to think, however, as outlined below, of descendants of two manuscripts, π and ω, both containing *transmitted* variants which cannot be disentangled as to origin, rather than of (illusory) separate π and ω traditions.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. XLVI ff.: since this was verse, and not prose, this seems to have been confined to the insertion in a word of one or possibly two letters from between the lines, e.g., IX, 276, where the Bambergensis and the Bernensis 156 read *caplethum*, while P has *capetum* and the majority of the common class read *c(h)alet(h)um*.

If this were not the case, and, as Klotz seems tacitly to assume (he never broaches the opposite possibility), both the P tradition and the ω tradition were transmitted without variants, then, in each case, the variants arose as errors in one branch or the other after the time of the archetype. Yet, as Klotz proved despite himself, the text of Priscian is not uniformly that of P, and, more significantly, the text from which the commentary of Lactantius Placidus was written agrees in error now with one tradition, and now with another. In this case, one would be forced to conclude that both Priscian and Lactantius Placidus had compared various descendants of the archetype (which is not certainly earlier than Lactantius Placidus) and chosen readings from among them. Some variants, then, must go back to late antiquity, probably to the work of some grammarian, rather than to the autograph of Statius himself,[1] and are probably in origin pre-archetypal rather than archetypal.

In addition to what has been said above, then, the exemplar of P and the exemplar of ω both contained variants, and were probably not contaminated with each other. The ω of Lactantius Placidus was copied from the margins of a manuscript of similar description to these two: it is possible that it was from a manuscript of the *Thebaid* now lost without descendants for the text of the poem, but it seems more probable that the exemplar of the ω of Lactantius Placidus was the same manuscript as the exemplar of the ω of the *Thebaid*. If this should be so, the scholia may also have been written into the margin of the archetype of the *Thebaid* (probably s. iv-v), not long after their composition, and were omitted in some ancestor of P, or in P itself.

In summary, the commentary of Lactantius Placidus was composed in late antiquity as a commentary, somewhat later broken up, conceivably in the archetype of the *Thebaid*, into marginal scholia, and so transmitted until perhaps the eighth century, at some point in which tradition the lemmata were probably lost and then restored, in great part correctly. At this critical juncture in the history of so many classical texts the text was probably again reconstituted as a commentary and then dispersed, sometimes as

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[1] But cf. Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, p. 14, who concludes (in the *Achilleid*, but the same would also presumably apply to the *Thebaid*) that some of these variants must go back to Statius himself.

marginal scholia, sometimes as a commentary, among various manuscripts of the *Thebaid* in northern France and central Germany, with one particularly good manuscript going to Bavaria, whence copies were made for various Bavarian monasteries. This activity died out in the twelfth century in northern Europe, and these manuscripts are heard of no more for centuries. Much earlier, however, possibly in the ninth century, a copy was made which may have gone to Italy. From two copies of this manuscript, one of which could not have been later than the tenth century, while the other can only be dated as before the fifteenth, were descended all the copies known in Renaissance Italy, where the commentary had a new flowering of popularity, except for one older and on the whole better manuscript which came into the hands of Boccaccio, and then of the Medici, and was in turn copied, at least once, but which seems not to have had any further distribution. From this Italian vulgate were derived all the early editions, and no better manuscript was rediscovered or used for the text until the nineteenth century, except for an excellent old manuscript belonging to François Pithou, now apparently lost, which was used, for a few readings only, by the late humanistic scholar Friedrich Lindenbrog.

B. *On the text of the* Achilleid *commentary sometimes ascribed to Lactantius Placidus*

The manuscripts of the *Achilleid* commentary which is sometimes also ascribed to Lactantius Placidus are as follows:

A Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1694, s. X.
M Monacensis Clm. 19482, s. XI-XII.
P Parisinus 8040, s. XI (down to I, 239 only, in the form of marginal scholia, omitting most of the shorter scholia),

and, in addition:

L the readings of Lindenbrog's lost *codex Pithoeanus*, of unknown date, as given in his edition of 1600.

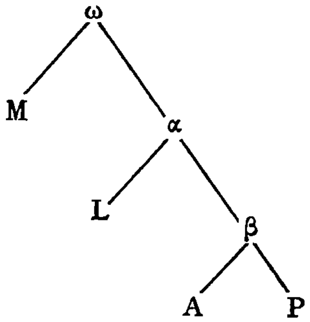
P occasionally rewrites the scholium slightly, e.g., at 490, 12 pegasea ergo argo loco dicta M, pagasea ergo argo a loco dicta A, Pegasea ergo a loco dicta L, ergo pagasea dicta est argo ^{a} loco P^1, and Lindenbrog's testimony is doubtful, since in the insertion of Greek at least Lindenbrog certainly made some corrections, and on occasion he must have misread, as he certainly did at 494, 13, misreading *ormizaū*, i.e., *ormizavit*, as *ormizaum*. Two manuscripts,

in addition, are derived from A, as noted above, the Urbinas latinus 361, s. XV, and MS. CVI (Pil. X, n° XXXIII), dated 1478, of the Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini in Naples, and these of course, have been omitted. The remarks which follow were based on a collation of A complete, compared with the readings of P and with those readings of M and L given in Jahnke's apparatus.

The most obvious divisions are two: M against ALP, and AP agreeing against LM. M is in error against ALP at, e.g., 487, 11 vocant M: vacant ALP, 488, 4 cum M: cuius ALP, 489, 20 ferenda M: serenda ALP, 489, 21 facta M: facto ALP, 490, 6 iason inmisit M: iasoni permisit ALP, 491, 5 si M: sic ALP, 491, 14-15 *om.* aratra. . . . Ulixes M: *non om.* ALP, 491, 18 ipsi M: ipse ALP, 491, 20 factam M: fictam ALP, 491, 24 morte M: more ALP, 491, 24 electa M: et lecta ALP, and so on. ALP agree in error, while M is correct, at 488, 29 ? se tenebat M, tenebat se AP, se L (in the *Achilleid* commentary as in Lactantius Placidus M often reverses the order of words, but here *tenebat se* seems intolerable, unless one should read *sed* for *se*), 496, 9 where the *a* is omitted in ALP, 498, 16-17 (after P's witness has failed) extremitate M: extremitatem AL (unless one should read *extremitatem*, omitting the *in*, as in Servius *ad Aen.* IV, 137, from which this was copied), 500, 2-3 crevisset M: excrevisset AL (unless *excrevisset* is correct), 501, 3 anticliae M, Antiochae L, antiche A, *superscr.* ł anticlie A² (*manus s. XV* ?), and 502, 14 ponitur M, ponit A, *om.* L. AP agree in error at, e.g., 488, 7 *post* POPULATAS *inser.* Blande molliter. populatus A, Blande id est molliter. populatus id est P, 491, 17 adeo: LM ideo AP, 495, 5 superaret LM: vituperaret AP, 495, 20 p. h. f. L, p. b. l. f. M, p. h. l. f. AP, 496, 10 nata LM: nati AP, 496, 25 iris LM: iri AP, 497, 1 in *om.* AP, and 497, 10 achilles LM, achillis AP. They also agree in correct readings at several places where M and L present different wrong readings or one or the other fails, e.g.: 487, 19 where their reading *hoc nomine* (*om.* est), an omission which Kohlmann had already conjectured, is better than Jahnke's *hoc nomine est* or the *hoc nom̄ ē* of M or the *hic vero est* of L, 499, 29 se cum ea AP, secum ex M, secure eam L, 490, 12 pagasea AP: Pegasea LM (an easy corruption), 491, 14 where their reading *ductus. Habuit ergo* seems preferable to the *ductus habuit* of L (M having a lacuna here), 494, 16 persei genus AP: per se igneus LM (perhaps restored by conjecture ?), 494, 24 ? turpidine AP: turpitudine LM (where the reading of AP commends itself as the *lectio difficilior,* although the passage is

copied from Servius *ad Aen.* VI, 14, where the manuscripts seem to agree in *turpitudine*), 494, 26 stirpem AP, stirpum L, stipem M, and 495, 12 filia AP, filio M, *om.* L.

Taken altogether, the following stemma seems implied:



It may be observed that this stemma checks and confirms the general outline of the stemma I have given for Lactantius Placidus.

The negative evidence is largely nugatory, e.g., 488, 8 habuerunt MP, habuerint LA, 488, 16 in² *om.* MA, 491, 6 mortale MA, mortali LP, 494, 4 *om.* est LA—these represent the sort of error which scribes were constantly making. Omitting cases where L is corrected, especially by the insertion of Greek, the addition of lemmata, as at 498, 25 CRETA RHEAE, 501, 1 TYDIDES, 502, 7 SPERCHIE, and 502, 13 ILLI SUBRIDENS, or has made easy corrections of verb-
ł vo
forms or the like, such as 502, 11 voveret L, vovere ut M, movere ut A¹, the only two places which I have found which seem to contradict the stemma are 493, 1-2, where ἀπὸ τοῦ ταρταρίζειν is rendered *apotu tartarizin* in P and *apotu tartazin* in MA, and 495, 28 converteretur MA, verteretur LP. These two cases seem accidental, however, with the same error occurring twice, one caused by haplography in each case, with *-ri-* and *-zi-*, which look much alike in minuscules, being reduced to *-zi-* in the first case, and in the second *avem converteretur*, written *avē c̄verteretur*, being changed to *avem verteretur*. In the first case it is also possible that the familiar *tartar-* was restored by conjecture in P.

That the common ancestor of all these manuscripts was minuscule is shown by such errors as 502, 6 AUCTOR MLA for DUCTOR,

500, 23 dictam [1] L, ductam M, datam A, 492, 2 deletam P, delictam *corr. in* delutam M, dilectam A, delatam L[1] and a whole series of errors in M: 496, 2 inmissu *ex* inmissit *pro* inmisso, 487, 14 ? pietas *pro* pictas, 489, 20 ferenda *pro* serenda, 494, 25 conetor̄ *pro* cunctorum, and 501, 12 olim *pro* dii (*olī* and *dii* look much alike in minuscules), as well as the confusion of *unde* and *unus* at 499, 25 and 500, 6 (a confusion which arose from the originally Insular suspension *un̄* for *unde*). There is not any evidence that the ancestor of these manuscripts, ω, was other than a manuscript in early Carolingian minuscule, as seems indicated by 492, 2 and 500, 23 (the error at 493, 25 VENIS for ULNIS in L I suspect of being a typographical error in Lindenbrog's edition, since it has left no trace in M or A). Although there does not seem to be any displacement of scholia, except in A, where 175 is placed after 180 and 238 and 239 are reversed,[2] the loss of several lemmata throughout the tradition seems to indicate that this ω was, like that of the Lactantian scholia to the *Thebaid*, copied from a manuscript of the *Achilleid* with marginal scholia. I have not noted any Insular errors, such as n/r/s confusions, common to the whole tradition, but a thorough recension might turn up some; the text, however, is short, and it might possibly not contain any sure traces of an Insular origin, even if this were the case.

About the ancestry of this ω, then, nothing can be said, except that it was assembled from marginal scholia in an uncertain script. A hypothesis, admittedly without proof, can, however, be formed, as follows: in three of these manuscripts (MLA) this

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[1] These two cases seem to show the "open" *a* or the state in early Carolingian minuscule between "open" *a* and the ordinary *a* in which a line was drawn between the two horns (cf. W. M. Lindsay, *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, London, 1896, p. 84), in which *a* is easily confused with *ci*; I do not understand why Klotz in the introduction to his edition of the *Thebaid* (*op. cit.*, pp. LVIII-LIX) has over a page of variants a/u/ec and n/u/ti/it/a, also including some ci/ic examples in the latter, in a list of errors "propter insularem exemplaris scripturam," as he says on p. LVII, since the open *a*, not typical of Insular script, seems implied.

[2] The common ancestor of AP must have been in the form of marginal and interlinear scholia: the loss of the shorter scholia in P recalls the copying of the Vallicellianus from m, while the fact that on the first side of the first folio some of the shorter scholia are written interlinearly suggests that this was what their common ancestor was like, but that the scribe of P for some reason neglected these glosses afterwards; likewise, the loss of several letters here and there in A, with spaces left, seems to argue that there were holes or blots in its immediate exemplar.

commentary is found together with the Lactantian commentary to the *Thebaid.* There seems no reason why this ω, in early Carolingian minuscule, could not have been copied from the exemplar of the ω of the *Thebaid*, a manuscript in Insular script, perhaps of the eighth century. This might, then, have been, in a sense, an *édition de luxe*, containing the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, both with scholia. I should like to propose that these scholia to the *Achilleid* were then composed and added *ad hoc*, either at the time of writing or later, in Carolingian times and perhaps in Carolingian minuscules.

If anything is clear about this little commentary, it is that it can not be by the same author as the commentary to the *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius.[1] The quotations from Servius and the Vatican Mythographers in Lactantius Placidus are all, I believe, interpolations; most, if not all, are lacking in M, as Richard Klotz noted in his *De scholiis Statianis commentatio I*, Gymn. Prog. Treptow, 1895, pp. 4-5, and any that might seem to be archetypal[2] can be deleted as interpolations in the archetype or one of its ancestors without harming the fabric of the commentary. The case is quite otherwise with the *Achilleid* commentary: there, as Richard Klotz showed (*op. cit.*, pp. 5-10), practically all of the commentary was copied directly from Servius,[3] seldom changing a word, except to fit the passage into context, sometimes, as in the end of 388, which repeats part of 206, even repeating what was said before, and much of the rest seems rewritten from Servius. Excluding passages derived directly from the contents of the *Achilleid*, mere glosses, or repetitions of partially altered scholia from other parts of these scholia, cf., e.g., the scholium to line 91 at the beginning and that to line 1, and that to 65 and that to 28, and several quotations from Vergil, one from Juvenal (IX, 18-20, in the scholium to 167; another quotation, X, 266, in the scholium to 951, is taken directly from Servius *ad Aen.* I, 1), and one from Lucan (II, 715, in the scholium to 65), all that remains are some scholia[4] which agree with Vatican Mythographer I, or have some of the same content.[5]

[1] As was noted by Thilo in the introduction to the Thilo and Hagen edition of Servius (3 vols., Leipzig, 1881-1887), vol. I, p. xxxvi.

[2] Cf. Funaioli, *Esegesi virgiliana antica*, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-494.

[3] At 444 part of Servius Danielis to *Aeneid* VI, 1 is copied: whether this single occurrence shows that the text was derived from a manuscript of the Servius *auctus* or from one of its sources seems undeterminable.

[4] Discussed by Richard Schulz in *De Mythographi Vaticani Primi Fontibus*, Diss. Halle, 1905, pp. 45-46.

[5] It was the conclusion of Ferdinand Keseling, *De Mythographi Vaticani*

In other words, if the *Achilleid* scholia were used by Vatican Mythographer I, rather than the other way around, all of the non-Servian scholia among them, with the few trivial exceptions I have noted, were borrowed by the Vatican Mythographer. It seems more likely to me that the first Vatican Mythographer, or some handbook used by the first Vatican Mythographer, was used by the compiler of these scholia, who took bits and pieces from this work, just as he did from Servius, adjusting and rewriting them to fit his context and his interests, so as to fill the margins of a manuscript of the *Achilleid*, just as innumerable other monks and humanists did in many other manuscripts in later centuries. These scholia show no real learning, nor even, so far as I have noted, any interesting variants, except in the scholium to 263, which states that Jupiter changed himself into the form of Diana, rather than into a satyr, as in Lactantius Placidus IX, 423, in the seduction of Antiope, and even this is patently a mere confusion with the similar tale of the seduction of Callisto, cf. *Th.* IV, 294 and the scholium thereto and Ovid, *Met.* II, 425. Whatever may be its interest for historians of ancient lore in the Middle Ages,[1] its value for classicists is almost, if not exactly, nothing.

C. On the text of the Super Thebaiden *of Fulgentius Planciades*[2]

In 1897 Rudolf Helm (*Rh.M.* LII (1897), pp. 177-186) published

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Secundi Fontibus, Diss. Halle, 1908, p. 43, that the scholia to the *Achilleid* were not a source of Vatican Mythographer II, since all their similar passages do not prove affiliation, and the Vatican Mythographer must have drawn directly on Servius: reversing the argument, there is no sign that the *Achilleid* scholia were derived from the second Vatican Mythographer, and the chronology also renders this difficult. The evidence of II, 201, which more resembles the scholium to the *Achilleid* I, 65 than Servius *ad. Aen.* XI, 260, does not really contradict this view, since the common reading in the *Achilleid* scholia and the Vatican Mythographer of "per rimosos scopulos" for "inter asperrimos scopulos" need prove nothing more than that these works had some common source.

[1] Cf. Kathleen O. Elliott and J. P. Elder, "A Critical Edition of the Vatican Mythographers," *T.A.P.A.* LXXVIII (1947), pp. 190-191.

[2] Whether or not this commentary is actually by Fulgentius is uncertain; cf. M. L. W. Laistner, "Fulgentius in the Carolingian Age," *Juvilejnyj zbirnyk na poshanu akademyka Mykhajla Sergiyevycha Hrushevśkoho z nahody shist'desyatoï richnytsi žyttya ta sorokovykh rokovyn naukovoï diyal'nosty* (LXXVI) (1928), p. 446, n. 2, and p. 448 (my transliteration: this is the *Festschrift* for Hrushevsky issued by the Ukranian Academy of Sciences at Kiev) and Bernhard Bischoff, "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters," *B.Z.* XLIV (1951), p. 51, n. 3.

for the first time, from Parisinus 3012, a manuscript of the thirteenth (?) century, a short allegorical commentary on the *Thebaid* with the *titulus* "Sancti Fulgencii Episcopi super Thebaiden." The manuscript, as we have noted above, was very difficult to read, and Helm gave two fairly widely differing collations, made for him by Rossbach and Gundermann, in his apparatus. No other source of this work, which probably dates to the mid-sixth century, has since been noted in print.

In making a search of the catalogues of various libraries for a preliminary stage of this present work I discovered, in the Bürgerbibliothek at Bern, a manuscript, numbered MS. 141, 323, of this same work, written by Pierre Daniel. An examination of photographs of this manuscript showed that many passages not read in the Parisinus were filled in in it, agreed definitely with one or the other of the collations, or read quite differently from either. The question then arose: what relationship exists between the Parisinus, which I shall call P, and the Bern manuscript, which I shall call D ?

There are two possibilities: that D is derived, corrected or uncorrected, either from a manuscript independent of P or (what amounts to the same thing) from P's own exemplar, or that D is a copy of P, with some corrections and interpolations by Daniel. The texts are really very close: the *titulus* in D is the same as in P, including the abbreviations, at 181, 23 ibsiphile PD, 181, 24
velut
ligurgum PD, 182, 14 perceptibile, 182, 18 sic̄ v̄lut P[1], sicut D, 182, 21 lasiva (*aut* lasvia) PD, 182, 23 ʰedo PD, 183, 3 ῑconiugio PD,
ł quique
183, 17 regnis PD, 183, 24 quinque P, quinque D, 184, 10 and 11 capd' *ter* P, capd' . . . capud . . . capud D, 184, 26 pro temporalibus PD, 184, 28 alumpnus idolatri PD, 184, 29 vocari (*pro* mortuus)
rem
PD, 185, 4 mortuus PD, 185, 7-8 vulgalem P, vulgalem D, 185, 22 phennis PD, 186, 1 *om.* sedantem PD, 186, 4 theos PD, 186, 7
cle
humilitate PD, 186, 8 adventū PD, 186, 11 dm̄cia P, dementia D, and, at the end, EXPLICIT PD. This shows that the exemplar of D, if D be not descended from P, could not have been much older than P, if at all.

D supplies, in addition, many of the same words which are either supplied in italics in Helm's text or are given by one of the colla-

tions: 180, 3 eorum, 180, 7 volunt, 180, 8 iocunda, 180, 8 vitae, 180, 10 et, 180, 10 iocundi, 180, 12 non incommune, 181, 11 cuius, 184, 2 profunditas, 184, 5 nullius, 184, 22 minuit, 185, 8 peccatis (Rossbach, as usual, was more correct in his collation; *peccis* in P must have been a capricious abbreviation for *peccatis*), 185, 12 intentis, and 185, 27 regnaturus.

The other major superiorities of D over P are as follows: 181, 8 operum suorum D, pu. niet Pr, per unice (?) Pg, 181, 10 evidentissime D, <eminen> tissime P, *suppl. Rossbach*, 181, 11 imitator D, c(?) . . . ator Pr, . . . itor Pg, commentator *Rossbach*, emulator
rae curso
Helm, and 182, 1 p*er curso* D, <trans> curso P, *suppl. Rossbach*. In only one case, 182, 3 dei be . . . P, dei bonum (benignitas *in marg.*) D, does D seem to have supplied a word by conjecture—*dei benignitas* seems clear, since *benignitas*, followed by a repetition in the next line, seems required by the stuttering style of the commentary—and the feebleness of this *bonum*, and the presence of the marginal *benignitas*, leads one to attribute this rather to the scribe of D than to Daniel himself, who was a learned and careful scholar.

Indeed, one is led to the conclusion that D is a close transcript of a manuscript, errors and all. Spellings are used, e.g. 184, 28 alūpnus idolatri, 181, 23 ibsiphile, 181, 24 and 185, 23 ligurgum, and 185, 22 phennis, which can hardly be explained otherwise. Many errors,
rem cle l
e.g., 185, 7-8 vulgalem, 186, 11 dementia, 181, 10 virginianae, are preserved, as in P, in the text, but corrected above the line, as are
etiam
explanations of unfamiliar abbreviations, e.g., 181, 19 7̄ , 183, 10
ut quia
and 183, 20 ú, 183, 25 q< (although how this could have been
quod
unfamiliar I do not know), 184, 4 and 184, 9 q̰ , perhaps a version
ἅγιος
of the Insular q̰ for quod, and Greek words, at 182, 11 ayos (*pro*
αργος θεος
ayos[1]), 184, 8 argus, and 186, 5 theos (the other Greek words are usually written out in Greek letters, as in Lindenbrog's supposed transcription of his *codex Pithoeanus* of the *Achilleid* commentary). At 182, 21 *lasiva* is not corrected, and the correct *lascivia* is written in the margin.

In short, the impression one gains from D is that Daniel was making a transcript of an earlier manuscript, preserving all errors

in detail (it is, however, likely that, like most transcribers, he was inconsistent in choosing which abbreviations he intended to perpetuate) and being very careful in distinguishing his own corrections from manuscript readings (although it is certain that some of the

vel ut

interlinear readings, such as 182, 18 sicut, a variant also found in P, are from his exemplar). Thus the new readings of D seem to represent a manuscript independent of P, since the boldness in filling out such lacunae as 181, 8, 181, 10, 181, 11, and 182, 1 hardly seems compatible with the caution and precision observed elsewhere. Even, however, should these be conjectures of Daniel's, they should be recorded on account of their native excellence.

I have observed only one scrap of internal evidence as to the history of these manuscripts. At 184, 13 P's reading, filiam *ex* filito, implies that the exemplar of P was a manuscript using the so-called "co" *a*, and thus was written in very early Carolingian minuscule,[1] and the exemplar of D, if a cautious hypothesis may be advanced, may have been a manuscript copied from this same old manuscript at about the same time as was P.

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[1] This evidence seems to me stronger than the argument from the form of the Greek adduced by Bischoff (*ibid.*), who wanted to make this a work of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER THREE

LACTANTIUS PLACIDUS III, 205-386: A *SPECIMEN CRITICUM*

Since most of the material which properly pertains to the introduction of an edition has already been given in earlier chapters, I shall here say only a few things about the composition of this *specimen criticum.*

The specimen passage, III, 205-386, was chosen for the following reasons: some passage in the earlier books was necessary, since later in the commentary the scholia tend to degenerate into mere glosses, and this passage contained a reasonable amount of text for the purpose of a specimen at a critical point in the text, the intersection of the little edition of Kohlmann (*Lactantii Placidi . . . , op. cit.*), which covered III, 1-323, and the text of V, our oldest manuscript and thus the manuscript which most needed evaluation, which begins in this part at III, 205 with the words *cum ideo.* Obviously, in drawing up such a specimen, it was desirable to have as much material available for comparison as possible.

After examination of the manuscripts it became clear that it would be possible to reconstruct the archetype with considerable accuracy, and this is the purpose of this edition. It is likely that the archetype in some cases was interpolated—I have bracketed some passages, although I have found no scholia definitely interpolated in III, 205-386—although there probably is much less interpolation than was thought from Jahnke's text, which was founded on no real basis. I have found only one interpolation after the archetype, at III, 325, which has any value for showing the stemma, all the others being capricious, and I have noted this interpolation, which stood unchallenged in Jahnke's text, in the apparatus. The lemmata, however, have suffered various losses, corruptions, and mutilations for the reasons I have given, and I have tried, in every case, to restore them to conformity with the content of the scholia, if not to the *Thebaid.* I have also tried to correct errors, especially in names, in the archetype if they seem explainable by ordinary textual corruption such as *Hyperenor, Udaeus,* and *Chthonius* at 285 and *Epaphus* at 286, where the archetype had *hyperion, tybeus,*

donios (or *-oc*), and *elus*; caution, however, must be exercised, since some errors may go back to Lactantius Placidus himself, such as *Aristophanes* for *Sophocles* at XII, 510, an error explained by Alfred Klotz in "Die Statiusscholien", *op. cit.*, p. 518.

I have excluded from my apparatus merely orthographical variants and variants found only in single manuscripts, except occasionally M, when these seemed possibly significant, or in manuscripts treated as a single manuscript, such as π, the archetype of the Italian vulgate, and the archetypes of its two branches. I have, naturally, also excluded variants found even in several of the manuscripts of the Italian vulgate when these had no claim to be the readings of π or of one or the other branch of the Italian vulgate tradition. Even if a corruption is part of the printed vulgate, e.g., *ut iuvit* (*ut iuret* in Barth) at III, 205, which has appeared in every edition ever printed except that of Kohlmann for the *nunc* of the archetype (*non* being correct), it should have no place in the apparatus, being derived ultimately from a corrupt and emended descendant of π, printed or manuscript; similarly, emendations of this vulgate have been included only if they are still relevant to the transmitted text because they are right or likely in themselves. Other emendations of this sort have been excluded, just as many of the peculiar errors of the old, pre-Lindenbrogian printed vulgate, and many of the emendations of Mombritius which were part of its text, have been excluded from every text and apparatus issued since 1600. All these have no part in the *traditio*: they give neither credit to their perpetrators nor knowledge to the reader, and their place in an edition, if any, is in the introduction. I have taken care, in the emendations I have listed, to attribute them to the right author: thus, at III, 262 the lemma CAELIQUE ABRUPTA, about which Jahnke notes "supplevi ex coniectura", should actually be attributed to Kohlmann, who printed it in his little edition in 1887, but when there seems a reasonable presumption that the author of a published conjecture was unaware of the work of his predecessor, such as at V, 163, where the passage in Euripides was identified by Bücheler as *Orestes*, 675-676, which, unknown both to him and to Jahnke, had already been discovered by Porson, I give both names, thus *Bücheler, iam Porson*. I have restored the name of Mombritius to my apparatus when readings in the early printed vulgate seem to be his. In short, my intention has been to present an *apparatus vere criticus* and to present new manuscript readings of

relevance never before published: there is obviously a certain tension between these two ideals, which I have tried to resolve as best I could.

Due to the nature of many of the manuscripts, I have found it necessary to insert a running tally of the witnesses for any given passage between the text and the apparatus, so as to distinguish carefully between lacunae and omitted scholia and parts of scholia. I have not included a list of parallel passages in Servius, the Vatican Mythographers, the scholia to the *Achilleid*, and the like, although it is my intention to include testimonia in the final (Teubner) edition.

SPECIMEN CRITICUM

SIGLA

M = Monacensis Clm. 19482, olim Tegernseensis, s. XI/XII.

f = Monacensis Clm. 6396, olim Freisingensis, s. XI.

E^1 aut E^2 = Parisini 10317, olim Echternachensis, s. X, manus prima aut altera.

m = Mediceus Laurentianus 38,6, s. XI.

B = Bambergensis MS. Class. lat. 47, s. XI.

C = Parisinus 8055, olim Colbertinus, s. XI, passim citatus.

K = Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 54, s. XI.

W = fragmenta codicis olim Werdensis, s. XI, passim citata, nunc partim in bibliotheca Düsseldorfiensi sub numero F. 49 servata, partim deperdita sed apud Gulielmum Schmitz, *Rh.M.* XXI (1866), pp. 438-443 in lucem emissa, partim (quod maxime dolet), quae nondum erant publicata, apud bibliothecam universitariam Monasteriensem in bellis nuper destructa.

V = Valentinianus 394, s. IX-X.

π = codex (s. IX ?) nunc deperditus, genitor codicum Φ et Ψ, de quibus codices traditionis Italicae derivati sunt.

Φ = codex (s. IX ?) nunc deperditus, codicum AQFp fons.

A = Vaticanus Palatinus 1694, s. X.

Q = Florentinus Riccardianus 651, s. XV.

F = Pistoriensis Forteguerrianus A, 45, s. XIV.

p = Parisinus 8063, s. XIV.

Ψ = codex (s. XIV ?) nunc deperditus, codicum cbRGOvek fons.

c = Perusinus C. 53, anno 1399 exaratus.

b = Vaticanus Barberinianus 84, s. XV.

R = Vaticanus latinus 3381, s. XV.

G = Perusinus G. 1, s. XV.

O = Bodleianus Canonicianus class. lat. 75, s. XV.

v = Vindobonensis 3118, s. XV.

e = Escurialensis MS. h. II. 8, anno 1459 exaratus.

k = Parisinus 8064, s. XV.

ς = quidam de codicibus AQFpcbRGOvek deterioribus, sed neque Φ neque Ψ.

ω = codex (Insulari scriptura S. VIII ?) exaratus nunc deperditus omnium codicum supra collatorum fons.

edd. vett. = Mediolanensis 1478(?) a Bonino Mombritio edita Romana 1480(?) Venetae 1483 1490 1494 1498 (quarum quinque posteriores de editione Mombritiana derivatae sunt), ac Tiliobrogiana, quando non sub propriis nominibus citantur.

L = editio Tiliobrogiana 1600 (sed sub nomine editoris "Lindenbrog" citatur, si dicit se coniecturam fecisse).

t = codex manu scriptus nunc deperditus apud varias lectiones in editione Tiliobrogiana citatus, ut videtur, Pithoeanus.

edd. = editio Mombritiana 1478(?) codices impressi Romanus 1480(?) Veneti 1483 1490 1494 1498 editio Tiliobrogiana 1600 editiuncula Philippi Kohlmann in versus 1-323 libri III anno 1887 impressa editio Teubneriana Ricardi Jahnke 1898, quando quidam de his non sub nominibus propriis citantur.

(B) = lectio codicis nominati in re disputata eadem, sed in ceteris dissimilis.

(B ?) = lectio incerta codicis nominati.

LACTANTII PLACIDI UT DICITUR IN THEBAIDOS P. PAPINII STATII LIBRI III VERSUS CCV-CCCLXXXVI COMMENTARIUS

205 IN SUBITOS REGINA LACUS. Dircen significat, quam Amphion et Zethus, Antiopae et Iovis filii, tauro vinxerunt, de cuius sanguine fons natus est eius nomine decoratus.

SIC DURA SORORUM. Ideo, inquit, illa non fleo, quia patientius fertur, quod fato accidit. nunc ergo quinquaginta isto regis vitio ceciderunt. sic Cicero in Philippicis < I, 4, 10 > "multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum." ideoque poeta describit illud fatorum fuisse, hoc non. de qua re magna quaestio est. sed si philosophiae investigemus arcana—si haec tamen talia credamus evenisse—reperire possumus hoc magis fato factum, quam per Eteoclis insidias contigit. quid enim deorum iracundiis extra fatum? licet enim diis, qui ipsa fata senserunt, facere quod velint, qui humanum genus hoc vinculo ligaverunt, non suas voluntates atque licentias. attamen si utrumque perpendas, et hoc et illud de fato evenisse cognoscis. nam ut quinquaginta morerentur, per regis perfidiam contigit, et illa, quae <de> regibus facta narravit, de Dirce, de Niobe, de Pentheo, de Agave, de Actaeone, etiam decretum fuisse poteramus agnoscere. omne enim, quodcumque, fato moritur. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* X 467> "stat sua cuique dies."

207 <PATRIAE TOT CULMINA CIVIS>. Tamquam quae tegerent aut ornarent.

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om. omnia lemmata E; scholia apud E in manu prima, nisi nota E^2 utimur.

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205 om. *ideo . . . cuique dies* E, om. *quam Amphion . . . cuique dies* B, incipit cum *ideo*, om. *ut . . . licentias, omne . . . cuique dies* V, *Dircen . . . decoratus* interpretatio sine lemmate K. || 207 om. EV, interpr. s. l. mBK.

6-7 *cf. Lactantius Placidus* II, 191; IV, 677.. || 8 ideoque *M*, ideo *f*, ideo et *mKV* π. || 11 quam *corr.* (*ex k*) *Jahnke* Ψ, quod ω: quid *scripsi*, quod ω *edd.* || 14 non *corr.* (*ex p*) *Kohlmann*, non ad *K*, nunc ω. || 15 hoc et illud *fKVQL*, hoc *Mm*, hoc illud π. || 17 <de> regibus *Elder*, regibus ω, superius *L.* || 18 decretum *M*, decretu *f*, decreti *mKV*π. || 21 PATRIAE TOT CULMINA CIVIS *inserui.* || 21-22 tamquam . . . ornarent *post* perdidimus *posuit* ω, *quod*

208 EXUIMUS. Perdidimus.

209 EXTREMA DOLEMUS. Sensus: cum nondum bella commissa sint, iam timemus extrema bellorum, quae victi pati consuerunt.

216 UNDE EA LIBERTAS. Quaeritis, inquit, quo voto Aletes crimina in regem libere congerat. videt enim sibi et vitae finem propinquum et omne incolumitatis spatium esse translatum. et propter hoc, ne moriatur inglorius, quasi liber et constans, ut hoc de illo populus post loquatur, optat occidi. unde Lucanus: <III, 134-5> "Vanam spem mortis honestae concipis."

221 BISTONAS ET GETICAS. Gentes Thraciae crudelissimae, ob quam causam Mars esse de Thracia dicitur. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* III, 35> "Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis."

223 FULMINE CRISTATUM. Quod exibat de crista galeae infinitum luminis habens, eratque galea in morem fulminis cristis ornata.

224 TRISTIA. Quae quamquam essent aurea, tamen tristitia non carerent, ut esset terror in proelio.

225 TONAT AXE POLUS. Incertum, utrum poli axem an currus dixerit, sed rectius currus axem accipimus.

226. AEMULUS. Luce radianti par magnitudine.

230 ENSE MADENS ET NUBILUS IRA. Madentem sanguine gladium tenens aut ferens et furore tristis.

231 EXTURBENT RESIDES FRENOS. Id est, vincula legis et foedera, quibus tenentur in pace. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* XII, 568> "ni frenum accipere."

ET CUNCTA PEROSI. Quasi communis verbi sit participium, ut "perosus te" et "perosus tibi." Virgilius: <*Aen.* VI, 435> "lucem-

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208 om. V, interpr. s. l. mBK. || 209 om. *quae . . . consuerunt* E, interpr. s. l. BK. || 216 om. *unde . . . concipis* E. || (209 et 216 m inversis). || 221 om. *de Thracia, ut . . . arvis* E, om. B, interpr. s. l. BK. || 223 om. *eratque . . . ornata* E, om. B, interpr. s. l. K. 224 interpr. s. l. K. || 225 nullo om. || 226 om. EB (*magnitudine similis* B²), interpr. s. l. mK. || 230 om. *aut . . . tristis* E, interpr. s. l. K. || 231 om. *ut . . . . accipere, quasi . . . participium* E, profert E²: *secundum Virgilium: Perosus te et tibi et te. Sed modo perosus illius dicimus.*, om. *ut . . . accipere* B, *id est . . . accipere* interpr. s. l. K. ||

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ad locum restitui. || 1 perdidimus *MmKEςedd.*, perdimus *fBπ*. || 3 consuerunt *MfmKBΦ*, consueverunt *V Ψ*. || 4 EA *MmK edd.*, ET π, *om. f(B ?) V.* || 11 esse de thracia *mKVπ*, de thracia esse *M*, d & hracia *f*, esse *E*. || 13 exibat *mKEΨ*, exiebat *MfΦ*, exhibebat *V*. || 16 proelio *ed. Mombritiana*, pretio ω. || 19 luce ω, luci *L*. || 20 SIC *inser. ante* ENSE *m edd.*: ET ω, AC *Statius edd.*

que perosi," alibi <*Aen.* IX, 141-2> "non genus omne perosum femineum."

233 ET FOEDERA TURBA. Ante bellum enim Thebanum inter Argos et Thebas odia penitus non fuerunt.

234 QUAE DEDIMUS. Concessimus tibi otia longa subito bello turbare.

239 ADDE FIDEM. Ut nuntianti Tydeo credant.

241 NIGRAE. Infernae, quia bellorum.

242 COLUS. Pensa. notandum plurali numero declinatas.

AB ORIGINE MUNDI. Secundum illos, qui dicunt nascente mundo praefinita esse hominum fata.

243 IN PROELIA NATI. Quasi mundi haec constituta sint lege, ut hi populi bellis intereant.

246 ARCEM HANC AETERNAM. Inter ortum et occasum omne quod medium est, meridies nominatur et est sedes deorum, unde est illud ἁ μεσότης ἀρετά, id est, <*Horat. Carm.* II,10,5> "aurea mediocritas." inde facile apud Maronem Mercurius ad Atlantem venit, quamvis <*Aen.* I, 225-6> "hic vertice caeli constitit." intellegamus prope septentrionem.

247 ETIAM MIHI NUMINA FONTES. Ordo: testor Elysios fontes, qui etiam mihi sunt numina. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* VI, 324> "di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen."

248 IPSE MANU THEBAS. Ut consoletur omnes, minatur Argivis. constat enim timorem periculi accipere solatium, si hoc non solus quicumque patiatur.

250 VERRAM. Aut in mare traham aut diluvio conteram.

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233 interpr. s. l. K. || 234 om. EB, interpr. s. l. mK. || 239 *ut nuntianti* E^1, add. *credant* E^2, om. *Tydeo credat* mK, om. V, interpr. s. l. mBK. || 241 om. *quia bellorum* EmB, om. KV, interpr. s. l. mB. || 242 E^2: *Nota pluraliter dictum Calus,* interpr. s. l. *pensa* B, *pensa . . . declinatur* interpr. s. l. m; E^2: *Secundum eos qui dicunt cum mundo fata hominum nata.*, interpr. *secundum . . . fata* s. l. K. || 243 *s. ut bellis pereant* E^2, inser. in lemma *Populique* ante IN B, om. m, interpr. s. l. K. || 246 om. *unde . . . septentrionem* E, om. *deorum . . . mediocritas* V. || 247 om. E, om. *ut . . . numen* B, interpr. s. l. K. 248 om. E, interpr. s. l. K. || 250 interpr. s. l. mK.

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5 QUAE *MfςL*, CUI *Vπ edd. vett.* || 6 nuntianti Tydeo credant *Kohlmann,* nuntianti Tydeo credat *Mf,* nuntianti *E^1mBKπ*, credant *add. E^2*, Tydeo credat *L*, Tydeo credebat *edd. vett.*, nuntianti Tydeo credatur(?) *Jahnke, iam Musaei Britannici MS. Reg.* 15 c.x. || 8 declinatas *fKVπ*, declinatur *Mm.* || 11 sint *MfKπ*, sunt *BV.* || 14-15 est illud *L*, illud est ω: 15 ἁ μεσότης ἀρετά *restituit Reifferscheid* (*apud Wölfflin in Philol.* XXIV, 157), anne tote capeta ω. || 16-17 *Aen.* IV, 238 *seq.* || 25 VERRAM *ex interpretatione restituit A. Klotz,* VERTAM ω *edd.*

253 MORTALIA CREDAS. Sic praecepto Iovis cuncta sunt territa numina, ut crederentur esse mortalia.

262 IAMQUE ITER EXTREMUM. Parte qua deficit caelum. ut Homerus: <*Il.* I, 591> ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο, significans intervallum, quo terra separatur a caelo.

<CAELIQUE ABRUPTA>. Sic et "abrupta montium" dicimus. id est, Olympi ardua, quod caelum dixere ideo, quia apex eius omnibus invisibilis est. infra eum enim nubes sunt. ut Lucanus: <II, 271> "nubes excedit Olympus."

263 NULLA FORMIDINE. Nec mirum, quia Martis arma non timuit, quae irati Iovis temnere consuevit.

264 IAM IAMQUE RIGENTES. Erectas sive horribiles. ut Virgilius: <*Versus Statii, non Vergilii, Th.* I, 109-110> "riget horrida tergo palla."

266 ACCLINATA IUGO. Incumbens. Venus super iugum vultum madentem lacrimis obliquum tenens, ut hoc habitu Martem in amorem suum magis magisque succenderet.

269 SOCER O <PULCHERRIME>. Quia Cadmus Harmoniam, Martis et Veneris filiam, duxit uxorem. iure ergo Martem socerum nominavit.

273 CRIMINIS HAEC MERCES. Adulterii scilicet, quia spreto Vulcano cum Marte concubuit. iam nec coniugii memor est, quae vocat crimen. amat dolor acerbare coniugium, ut apud Virgilium hospitem appellavit Aeneam Dido furore percussa <*Aen.* IV, 323-4> "Cui me

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253 interpr. s. l. K, cum lemmate *Et attoniti i. m. c. p.* m. || 262 om. E, om. *ut* . . . θεσπεσίοιο BV. || 263 om. *quae* . . . *consuevit* E, interpr. s. l. K. 264 om. *ut* . . . *palla* EmB, interpr. s. l. mBK. || 266 interpr. s. l. K. || 269 om. *iure* . . . *nominavit* E, interpr. s. l. K. || 273 interpr. s. l. K, om. m.

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4 ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο *recogn. Wölfflin l. c., apud codices MfmKAFpcGO diverse corrumpitur, om. schol. E, om.* ut. . . θεσπεσίοιο *BV, om.* ῥῖψε . . . θεσπεσίοιο *QbRvek.* || 6 CAELIQUE ABRUPTA *inser. Kohlmann.* || 10 quia martis arma *M,* quod Martis arma *L,* quia maris arma *f,* quia martem amata *mKV,* quia martem donata *E*[1], se martem amata *B,* maritum matrem amata *π.* || 11 irati iovis tem(p)nere consuevit *fBVL* (quae = arma), irati iovis temnere consuevit iras *M,* irati iovis iras contempnere consuevit *m,* iram iovis temnere consuevit *K,* iratum iovis tem(p)nere consuevit *π,* iratum iovem temnere consuevit *edd. vett.* ς. || 12 IAM *Vπ,* UT IAM *Mf.* || 18 PULCHERRIME *supplevi*: (H)armoniam *mK Kohlmann,* Harmonien *L,* ermionam *Mf,* arm| *B,* (h)ermionem (*vel* -en) *E*[1]*Vπ edd. vett.* || 22-2 iam . . . restat, *cum lemmate* SERVIT TAMEN IRA MARITI (276), *post* 274 *posuit* ω: *cum lemmate* CRIMINIS HAEC MERCES *distinxit L, et ad locum restitui.* || 23 acerbare *L,* acervare ω.

moribundam deseris, hospes? hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat."

274 LEMNIACAE DE TE MERUERE CATENAE. quibus in Lemno deprensa cum Marte vincta fuit. quamquam Veneris et Vulcani notissima fabula sit, breviter tamen exinde pauca perstringam. postquam filiabus Solis Venus amores immisit et singulae exitiali morbo detentae interiere, Vulcanus Minervae consilio monile astu perfecit, nam consciam facti Minervam indicant oculi Gorgonae, quos dicit poeta <*Th.* II, 278> in illo monili gemmis insertos. fecit ergo monile pulcherrimum infausti ominis, quod dedit Harmoniae cum Cadmo nuberet, cuius malo omine in dracones cum marito conversa est. deinde hoc monile Semele gestavit, quae fulminibus Iovis absumpta est. inde habuit Ino, quae, a marito Athamante occiso per furorem uno ex filiis Learcho, cum alio, id est, Palaemone, se praecipitavit in mare, ut mariti insequentis vitaret insaniam. post habuit Agave et ipsa filium furore percussit. hae omnes filiae Cadmi et Harmoniae fuerunt. habuit et Iocasta, quae per errorem filio nupsit. habuit et Argia, sed Eriphylae dedit, ut mariti proderet latebras.

280 ARMA TIBI. Ut <*Aen.* VIII, 433> "Marti currumque rotasque volucris."

TU. Aposiopesis. Ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* I, 135> "Quos ego!"

AENA. Aerea, id est, fortia.

283 HYMENAEIS. Hymenaeus puer genere Atheniensis fuit. is cum annos puerilis aetatis excederet neque adhuc virum posset implere, ea pulchritudine praeditus fuisse dicitur, ut feminam mentiretur. istum cum una ex civibus suis virgo nobilis adamasset, ipse, mediocribus ortus parentibus, quia nuptias desperabat, quod

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274 om. *hoc monile* E, om. KV. || 276 om. EV, interpr. s. l. K. || 280 om.
ł defectus verborum
ARMA ... *volucris* EB; *APOSIOPECIS* ... *ego* profert E^1, *fortia* E^2; *ut* ... *volucres, aera vel fortia* interpr. s. l., om. *TU* ... *ego* m; *APOSIOPESIS* ... *ego, erea fortia* interpr. s. l. B; om. V; tria scholia ter interpr. s. l. K. || 283 om. K.

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3 lemno *MfBVς*, lemnum *mE*^{1}π. || 4 deprensa *MfmBΦ*, deprehensa *VΨ*. || 8 perfecit *L*, *iam QO*^{2}, percepit ω: consciam facti Minervam *Kohlmann* (*ex Myth. Vat.* II, 78), *iam Q*, conscia factum minerva ω. || 10-11 (H)armoni(a)e *mE*^{1}*L*, (h)(a)ermoniae *Mfp edd. vett.*, hermione π. || 16 quae *voluit inser. post* Agave *Kohlmann ex Myth. Vat.* || 17 (H)armoni(a)e *m Kohlmann*, (h)ermion(a)e *MfE*^{1}π, hermonie *p*, Hermiones *edd. vett.*, Harmonies L. 23 AENA π, (A)ENEA *M* (*ex* AENA) *fς*. || 24 INFAUSTISQUE DABAS *voluit inser. ante* HYMENAEIS *L*.

poterat tamen, puellam extrema amoris linea diligens, [satis] animo solo satisfaciebat aspectu. cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Cereris Eleusinae celebrarent, subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt, inter quas etiam Hymenaeus (qui illo amatam fuerat subsecutus) qui puella creditur. cum igitur per longinqua maria praedam piratae vexissent, ad quandam regionem tandem devoluti perveniunt ibique somno oppressi ab † insequentibus † sunt perempti. Hymenaeus relictis ibi virginibus reversus Athenas pactus est a civibus dilectae nuptias, si eis suas filias restituisset. quas ubi pro voto restituit, exoptatam accepit uxorem. quod coniugium quia felix fuerat, placuit Atheniensibus nomen Hymenaei nuptiis miscere.

285 <DE> SANGUINE IACTAS. Propter quinque illos, qui de draconis dentibus nati sunt et occisis reliquis soli superfuisse dicuntur, qui condenti Thebas Cadmo socii fuerunt, id est, Echion, Pelorus, Hyperenor, Udaeus, et Chthonius.

286 IOVIS SERIE GENUS. Cadmi scilicet, cuius origo hoc ordine a Iove descendit: Ius et Iovis filius Epaphus, Epaphi filius Belus, Beli et Libyae Agenor, Danaus, et Aegyptus, Agenoris Cadmus, Cadmi Polydorus, Polydori Labdacus, Labdaci Laius, Laii Oedipus, Oedipi Ismene, Antigone, Eteocles, Polynices.

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285 om. K. || (286, 290, 296 om. ex ordine, inser. in marg. sup. ante 274 m.) || 286 E^2.

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1 satis *inclus. Kohlmann.* || 4 illo *fmBVΨ*, illam *M* (*ex* illo) *Eς Kohlmann*, illos *Φ*: subsecutus *M*E^1*BVΦ*, obsecutus *mΨ*. || 5 qui *corr. Romana* 1480(?), *iam Q, Jahnke* (*cf. Myth.* III, 11,3), cui *ω*, quia *Kohlmann*, quod *L*. || 6 perveniunt *fm*E^1*BVπ*, pervenerunt *Mς*. || 7 insequentibus *ω*; *valde suspectum*; cf. *Serv. Dan. ad Aen.* IV, 99. || 11 Hymenaei nuptiis *Kohlmann* (*ex Myth. Vat.* I, 75; II, 219), *iam Q*, nuptiis hymenei *ω*. || 12 DE *inser. ed. Mombritiana*: de *fm*E^1*BV Φ*, *om. MΨ*. || 15 Hyperenor *Munckerus* (*ad Hygin. fab.* 178), *Kohlmann L* (*in var. lect., non in textu*), hyperion *ω*: Udaeus *Munckerus*, *Kohlmann L* (*in var. lect.*), tybeus *ω*, Tydeus *ςedd.*, Idaeus *Myth. Vat.* I, 149, II, 77 *et* Q^2 *in margine*: C(h)thonius *L*, donioc *fm*E^1*π* (?—*ex consensu A*(*cG*)), donios *MBς*, henios *V*, Chromius *Myth. Vat.* II, 77. || 17 Ius et Iovis filius Epaphus *scripsi* (Epaphus *corr. iam Wilamowitz*), ius et iovis filius elus m^1*K*, iovis filius elus *MfV*m^2, elus iovis et iosae filius fuit *B*E^2, elus iovis fuit filius *C*, ius aliter ios et iovis filius elus *π*; *cf. Lactantius Placidus* VII, 186: Epaphi *corr. Wilamowitz*, eli *ω*: filius^2 *MfV*, om. *mKB*E^2*π*. || 17-18 Belus Beli *corr. L*, velus veli *ω* || 18 Aegyptus *ed. Mombritiana*, *iam Q*, egistus *ω*. || 19 cadmi polydorus *MfKB*E^2*VL*, om. *mπ*. || 20 ys(*sive* is-)mene *MC*E^2*KQ*, sine ne(a)e *fVπ* (*e consensu Acb* (*ex* sinnee)) *edd. vett.*, sinemee *m*, smineae *B*.

290 ILLYRICAS. Ubi Cadmus fugiens infortunia Thebarum, existimans se loco etiam mutare fortunam, cum Harmonia coniuge versi sunt in dracones [in Illyrico]. ut Lucanus: <III, 189> "Encheliae versi testantes funera Cadmi."

295 ET SACRA VOLUPTAS. † Matheseos † hic monstravit. si enim mixtus aliis sideribus fuerit Mars, vehementior truculentiorque fit, econtra si Iovi, bonus, si Veneri, supplex fiet.

296 UNAQUE PAX ANIMO. Pacem a Venere petiit, cui soli concessum est Martem domare. ut Lucretius: <I, 31-34>

"Nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare
mortales, quoniam belli fera moenia Mavors
armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se
reicit aeterno devictus vulnere amoris."

302 EXCIDERUNT. Propter metrum, ut: <*Verg.*, *Ecl.* IV, 61> "longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses."

PRIUS IN PATRUI. Prius perdam condicionem huius potestatis, quam aliquando mei sanguinis obliviscar.

[303 EXARMATUS. Id est, prius perdam immortalitatem, quam mei generis obliviscar.]

304 SUPREMI. Summi. ut Terentius: <*Adelph.* 196F> "pro

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290 om. *existimans . . . fortunam, in Illyrico . . . Cadmi* E, om. V, interpr. s. l. K. || 295 om. E, interpr. s. l. K. || (inversis 296 et 302 *EXCIDERUNT . . . menses* V.) || 296 om. *ut . . . amoris* E. || 302 om. *propter . . . menses* E, interpr. s. l. mK; *prius . . . obliviscar* interpr. s. l. K. || 303 om. E, *EXARMATUS* m^1, *id est . . . obliviscar* m^2, interpr. s. l. K. || 304 E^2, om. *iureiurando . . . coactum* E, interpr. s. l. K.

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1 infortunia *mKBπ*, infortuna *Mfς*. || 2 (H)armonia *mK Kohlmann*, (h)ermione *Mfπ edd. vett.*, armiona *B*, (h)ermonie *E*, Harmonie *L*. || 3 in Illyrico *inclusi* (*post* fortunam *posuit lacunam Kohlmann*). || 5 scium *voluit inser. post* Matheseos *Barthius*, se scium *Unger*, *sed cf. Lactantius Placidus* III, 558. || 6 fuerit mars *fKBVπ*, mars fuerit *M*, fuerit *m*. || 7 Iovi *ed. Mombritiana*, Iovis ω: Veneri *ed. Mombritiana*, Veneris ω *Jahnke*: supplex *mKπ edd.*, sup simplex *M* (*superscr. per* M^2), implex *f*, simplex *B Kohlmann*, supplex vel simplex *V*. || 8 cui *Jahnke*, quia ω: soli *MfmKVπ*, soli illi BE^1. || 11 quoniam *Lucretius*, quia ω: moenia ω, moenera *Lucretius* (?) (*ex coni. Lambini*). || 12 armipotens $MmKE^1BV$, omnipotens *fπ*: qui *Lucretius*, quia ω. || 13 devictus *Lucretius*, devinctus ω: amoris *Lucretius*, mavors ω. || 16 perdam mE^1KV π, perdam quidem *M* (*superscr. per* M^2), quidam *ft*, quam B. || 18-19 EXARMATUS . . . obliviscar ω, *om. M Mombritius, inseruit in margine* id est . . . inmortalitatem M^2, *inclus. Kohlmann.*

supreme Iuppiter." iureiurando confirmaverat se omnium meminisse, et superest, ut queratur contra Thebanos aliquid moliri. per venialem statum <se> excusat. dicit enim se facere, sed coactum.

305 NEQUE ENIM VULCANIA. Nunquam enim ad haec potest mitti Vulcanus. et opportune imbecillitatem obicit mariti, ut amorem Veneris in se transferat.

311 CONCIPE CARA METUS. Id est, nolo timeas excidia Thebanorum, qui non vincentur ita ut penitus pereant.

316 APERTO. Id est, caelo.

318 IRA IOVIS. Id est, fulmen.

SI QUANDO. Quoniam hi montes tam finguntur altissimi, ut inter nubes potius delitescant.

320 ARMAVITQUE IN NUBE MANUM. "Nubem" dixit fulmen. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* VII, 143> "ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem."

321 TRISULCA. Pro quadrisulca, quia fulmen ex quattuor consistit: aqua, igne, nube, vento.

322 DITIBUS. Locupletibus, id est, fertilibus.

323 SIGNA DARE. Ut signum det aut perituras esse fruges aut navigantibus imminere naufragia.

324 IAMQUE EMENSUS ITER. Transitus ad Tydeum.

325 LEGIT. Praeterit.

326 STANT. Horridi sunt, aut certe pleni sunt pulvere.

328 RETRO. Maciem indicat, quasi retro eius facies ducta sit.

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305 interpr. s. l. K. || 311 interpr. s. l. mK. || 316 om. V, interpr. s. l. mK, *caelo* interpr. s. l. BE^2. || 318 *id est fulmen* interpr. s. l. mK, *fulmen* interpr. s. l. E^1B, om. V; *quoniam . . . delitescant* interpr. s. l. BK. || 320 om. B, *fulmine* E^2, interpr. s. l. K. || 321 interpr. s. l. K. || 322 om. V, om. *id est fertilibus* E, interpr. s. l. mBK. || 323 *i. ut det* E^2, *aut . . . naufragia* E^1, interpr. s. l. K. || 324 *transitus* interpr. s. l. B, *ē it transitus ad tydeum* interpr. s. l. m, interpr. s. l. K. || (inversis 326—328 et 325 V.) || 325 om. f, interpr. s. l. mBK. || 326 om. *aut . . . pulvere* E, *horridi sunt* et *pleni* interpr. s. l. B, interpr. s. l. mK. || 328 interpr. s. l. mK.

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3 se *inseruit L.* || 5 im-(*sive* in-)becil(l)itatem obicit *f*(*om.* -be-) *mE^1BKV* Φ, obiecit imbecillitatem *M*, obicit imbecillitatem Ψ. || 6 transferat *corr.* (*cum Gronov.* 70) *Kohlmann* Ψ, transferret ω. || 7 excidia *mKBV*π, excidium *MfE^1*(?) *L Kohlmann.* || 8 qui ω, quia (*ex* qui) *M^1 Kohlmann*: ita *MfmE^1V*π, *om. BK.* || 17 igne *MfE^1CV Gronov.* 70 *Kohlmann,* igni *mKB* π *edd.* || 22 ut "litoraque Epiri legimus" *inser. post* Praeterit *V,* et est sermo nauticus. Ut Virgilius: "Litoraque Epiri legimus." π, *citatum ex Aen.* III, 292. || 24 eius facies *MfmE^1KV,* facies eius *B*π.

333 SUPERBIT. Ideo dixit superbire † virtutem, sicut animum virtutemque † transcendat.

334 <PECTORE DESPECTO>. Quasi ad gloriam suae virtutis exspectet superato hoste pectus habere confossum, quem laus victoriae et victi gemitus consolantur.

VACUA. Quod in ea solus iacet.

<335 CRUDOSQUE VETAT SENTIRE DOLORES>. Omne quippe gaudium, quod nimium est, nostri nos facit immemores.

337 ASOPON. Fluvius est Boeotiae. dicit autem omne spatium, quod inter Asopon et Argos interiacet, in bellum Tydei inflammationibus excitatum.

343 CREDERE SUADET. Tydei relatione.

345 FORTE VERENDUS. Oeconomia opportuna. quippe hoc actum est occasione concilii, ne revertenti Tydeo publicus deesset auditor.

350 AEQUUM FAS. Quia scelerati hac spe peccant, dum non sperant deos criminum vindices fore. unde Virgilius: <*Aen.* VIII, 7> "contemptorque deum Mezentius." nam sunt philosophi qui, cum videant naturae mala necessitate res contrarias ac pessimas in mundo parari, dicunt curam humanarum rerum penitus <deos> non

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333 om. E, interpr. s. l. K, cum lemmate *Mens altum s. h.* V. || 334 nullo om. || 335 interpr. s. l. K. || 337 om. *dicit . . . excitatum* E, interpr. s. l. K. || 343 om. mV, interpr. s. l. BK. || 345 om. *oeconomia opportuna* E, interpr. s. l. K. || (inversis 350 et 351 V.) || 350 om. *unde Vergilius: contemptorque . . . quem quam* E.

1-2 virtutem . . . virtutemque ω *edd., locus suspectus,* victorem sicut si animo virtuteque *Lindenbrog, teste Jahnke,* (*quae coniectura nec in textu nec in lectionibus variis invenitur, sed fortasse eam scripsit Lindenbrog in margine exemplaris sui, quo apud bibliothecam Hamburgensem nuper in bellis destructo usus erat Kohlmann, cuius adnotationes adhibuit Jahnke*; *cf. Kohlmanni editiunculam scholiorum in Achilleida* I, 93). || 3 PECTORE DESPECTO *inserui.* || 3-5 Quasi . . . consolantur *post* iacet (6) *posuit* ω, *quod ad locum restitui.* || 6 iacet *Mς*, iaceat *fmKBVπ*, iactat E^1. || 7-8 Omne . . . immemores *inter* SUPERBIT (1) *et* Ideo *pos.* ω; *lemma* CRUDOSQUE . . . DOLORES *supplevi, et ad locum restitui.* || 8 quod nimium est nostri *K*, quod est nimium nostri *L*, quia nimium est nostri *M*(quia *corr. in* qui M^1?) *fmE*[1]*BV*Ψ, qui animum nostri *A* (*corr. in* qui a nimium est nostri A^2), quoniam nimium est nostri *Q*, qui nostri animum *F*, qui est nostri animum *p*, quod nostri animi *edd. vett.* || 13 ET *voluerunt inser. ante* FORTE *edd.*: VERENDUS *M*, VERENDOS *fBπ*. || 15-16 non . . . fore *hoc ordine* ω; non *posuit post* vindices *L*. || 16 unde ω (ut ḍẹ *M*, ut ς). || 18 naturae mala necessitate *fmKL*, naturae malam necessitatem (*ex* -ae -a -e) *M*, naturae mala necessitatem *B*, mala naturae necessitatem *V*, naturae malo necessitatem π *edd. vett.* || 19 deos *inseruit L* (*inser., quod forsitan verum sit,* deum *post* rerum KW, *inser.* deos *post* rerum Q).

habere. unde Virgilius Epicurum secutus ait: <*Aen.* IV, 379-380> "scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos sollicitat." aut si omnino ad deum humanarum rerum pertinet cura, crudelis est. ut idem: <*Ecl.* VIII, 35> "nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam."

351 CURA IOVIS. Quasi violatae hospitalitatis gratia deum hospitii praesulem violatum esse dixit. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* I, 731> "Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura locuntur."

352 SAUROMATAS AVIDOS. Sauromatae [populi sunt Scythiae] ultra Pontum sunt vicini sedibus Amazonum, [ad quos non pervenit potestas Romanorum]. unde Iuvenalis: <II, 1> "ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet." Sauromatas ergo Sarmatas dicit, genus hominum ad omne paratissimum scelus.

353 BEBRYCII NEMORIS. Pollux cum Argonautis ad Bebryciam appulsus est, cum eum Amycus Bebryciorum rex ad caestuum provocasset certamen. Amycus autem hanc consuetudinem semper habuit, ut insidiaretur † Bebrycio nemori †, ubi, si quis forte advena devolutus fuisset, ab eo caestibus provocatus occumberet. hunc Pollux eodem certamine superatum dicitur occidisse. hic autem Amycus Neptuni et † Melopes † filius fuit, quem Pollucem diximus prostravisse. cuius mortem vindicaturi cives cum † Polluci instarent †, Argonautae asserturi commilitonem suum in aciem processerunt † victorumque Bebryciorum † contulerunt. Bebrycia

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351 E^2 (cum lemmate *Cura iovis*), interpr. s. l. K. || 352 om. *ad quos . . . scelus* E, om. *ultra Pontum sunt* B, interpr. s. l. K, om. lemma V.

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2 *cf. Lactantius Placidus* III, 659: sollicitat *Vergilius*, s. (*sive* scilicet) *mBVπ*, sunt *M*, *om. KW.* || 3 ad deum *ed. Mombritiana*, *iam Q*, ad eum ω. || 6 AUT *inser. ante* CURA *edd.*: hospit(-c-)ii *MfmKBE*^{2}, hospitum *V*, hospit(-c-)io π *edd.* || 9 populi sunt Scythiae *fmHV*, *om.* *ME*^{1}*Kπ edd.*, *fortasse in* ω *inter lineas.* || 10 sunt ω, *fortasse delendum, si* populi sunt Scythiae *legas*: vicini *E*^{1}*BAQ edd.*,vicinis *MfmKVΨFp*: amazonum *KWςJahnke*, amazonarum *MfmE*^{1}-*BVπ*. || 10-11 ad quos . . . potestas Romanorum *Mfm*^{2} (*in margine, in ordine* Romanorum potestas) *B*(*ante* vicini) *V* (*cum lect.* pervenerat), *om. mE*^{1}*Kπ*, *inclusi: fortasse in* ω *inter lineas.* || 17 Bebrycio nemori ω, in Bebrycio nemori *L*, in Bebrycio nemore *Jahnke*, *iam Q.* || 20 Melopes ω, Melies *L*, *cf. Serv. ad Aen.* V, 373. || 21-22 Polluci instarent *MmWΨL*, luci starent *fE*^{1}*BΦ* (*legens* -et), *om. spat. rel. edd. vett.*, *fortasse variae lectiones in* ω. || 22 asserturi *L*, as-(*sive* ad-)sertori ω. || 23 processerunt *ςL*, praecesserunt ω: victorumque Bebryciorum ω, victoriamque Bebryciorum *L*, *iam* (*O*^{2}?—*varia lectio in margine*), *correctio quoque impossibilis.*

autem Bithynia est. ut Virgilius ad Daretis augendum virtutis meritum dixit: <*Aen.* V, 372-3> "qui se Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat."

356 ARTAM COMPAGIBUS URBEM. Muris valloque munitam. quia "urbem" dicere iactantis erat, ideo adiecit "artam," id est, angustam.

358 NOCTE DOLOQUE VIRI. Quantae occasiones periculorum fuerint, Tydeus exponit: nox, dolus, <nudus> ipse, inscius loci.

<359 NEQUIQUAM.> Attamen aperte vicimus.

360 VACUAM. Viris fortibus exhaustam.

369 PARABAS. Ut huiusmodi mihi parares insidias, aut certe qualis Tydeus reversus est, talis et ego ad Argos redirem.

371 GRANDE NEGAVI. Utique ego debui proficisci, ut frater plenum parricidii titulum possideret.

372 CAUSA TUMULTUS. Ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* IX, 216> "ne matris miserae tanti sim causa tumultus."

374 RES DEXTRA LEVAVIT. Nec me, inquit, tantum extollit coniugii repentina felicitas, ut nesciam, quam sit durum quietos homines ad bella compellere. hoc autem mire anticipat, ne postea ipse culpetur. Alioquin nullus magis bella desiderat. agitur quippe de eius imperio.

375 QUAM TRISTE REVELLI. Scio, inquit, quemadmodum durum sit a liberis distrahi [ituris ad bellum].

<376 ULLIUS DOMUS>. Nolo domorum habere maledicta, si quae forte fuerint viduatae necessitate bellorum.

377 <TRUCES OBLIQUO LUMINE> MATRES. Desiderio filiorum mihi infestae sunt. ut Horatius: <*Carm.* I, 1, 24-5> "bellaque matribus detestanda." id est, quarum filii me sequantur ad bella.

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353 om. *ut Virgilius . . . ferebat* m, om. *quem . . . prostravisse, victoriamque . . . contulerunt, ut Virgilius . . . ferebat* E, om. *ut Virgilius* B, om. *cuius . . . contulerunt* V, om. K. || 356 om. *quia . . . angustam* E, interpr. s. l. BK .|| 358 om. E, interpr. s. l. K. || 359 om. E, interpr. s. l. K. || 360 interpr. s. l. mBK, om. V. || 369 om. *aut . . . redirem* E, interpr. s. l. K. || 371 interpr. s. l. K. || 373 om. E, interpr. s. l. mK. || 374 om. *hoc autem . . . imperio* E. || 375 nullo om. || 376 om. E. || 377 om. E.

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7 nudus *inserui:* loci *scripsi cum* ς, locus ω *edd.* || 8 NEQUIQUAM *inserui*: attamen *scripsi*, et tamen *Jahnke*, et tam ω: vicimus *fmBVπ ed. Mombritiana*, vicinus *M*(*ex* vicimus)*K*ς *edd.* || 14-15 ne matris ω, ne matri ς*L*, neu matri *Vergilius.* || 15 tumultus ω, doloris *Vergilius.* || 22 ituris ad bellum *inclusi.* || 23 ULLIUS DOMUS *inseruit L.* || 25 TRUCES . . . LUMINE *inseruit L.* || 26 sunt *Mf, om. mKBVπ.* || 27 detestanda ω, detestata *Horatius.*

378 IBO[QUE] LIBENS. Cum dicit "ibo," facit, ut solus ire non debeat.

379 AUDITUS. A me scilicet. ut obtemperans primum non isse, sic hoc dicit, ut intellegamus Polynicem ad Thebas ante ire voluisse. sed prohibitum se ab Adrasto queritur, ut prius legatio mitteretur. artificiosa ergo conquestio est, quae sic agitur, ut in ultionem sui etiam nolentes ire compellat.

383 OMNIBUS ULTRO. Defectu orationis totius aperuit voluntatem. nam dum astute repudiabat auxilia, id egit, ut mereretur. "ultro" bene, quia [ille] ingeniose noluerat putans illos ultro velle. aut "ultro" "ultra" accipimus. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* II, 145> "et miserescimus ultro."

386 SED ALTUS CONSILIIS. Profundus pater consilio sive providus. ut Virgilius: <*Aen.* VI, 9-10> "arces, quibus altus Apollo praesidet."

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378 om. E, interpr. s. l. mK. || 379 om. *ut . . . isse, artificiosa . . . compellat* E. || 383 om. E, *id egit ut* in lacuna apud m suppl. m[2], interpr. s. l. K. || 386 om. *ut . . . praesidet* E, interpr. s. l. K.

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1 IBO *Statius BV*, IBOQUE *Mfπ*. || 5 queritur *fE*[1]*BKVπ*, queritur autem *Mm*. || 6 agitur *MmB*, agit *fV*, ait *Kπ*. || 10 ille *inclusi*: illos *scripsi*, se ω *edd.*

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. A conspectus of the editions

The editions listed below are drawn from standard bibliographical works, such as Hain, Copinger, and Reichling, in their standard works on incunabula, and from F. L. A. Schweiger's *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1832. I have attempted to make it as complete in its listings as possible, and as accurate as the somewhat chaotic condition of the history of early printing permits. Wherever possible, I have indicated where copies of each edition may be found.

Milan, 1478?: (Hain 14990; Copinger 3661; Reichling 583. These all seem to refer to various parts of the same edition, as noted by Schweiger, II, 968). This is the highly important edition of Boninus Mombritius. Hain 14990 is the *Thebaid* section, dated 1478; Copinger 3661 is the Lactantius Placidus, quoted from the catalogue of the British Museum, which dates it around 1475; the same section is Reichling 583, which notes a copy at the Biblioteca Nazionale Neapolitana, No. VIII. D. 27, but declares that the type is the same as that used by Antonius Zarotus, and dates it around 1480. Reichling also, in correcting Hain, notes that the place of publication (judging by the verses of Mombritius on 147a, which refer to "Belouesi de . . . urbe") was Bellovisu (now Bovisa, near Milan), and the printer Philippus de Lavagna: he dates this work (which he does not connect with the commentary) c. 1472. In addition to the copies containing the commentary only at Naples and in the British Museum, there is a copy at Yale which contains both sections. The anonymous notes on this edition at Yale refer the "Belouesi de . . . urbe," probably correctly, to Milan, which, according to Livy V, 34, was founded by the Gaulish chieftain Bellovesus.

This was actually probably two separate works produced, in a marvel of printing, with exactly the same number of pages and lines to the page, and on the same paper. This edition seems to be the *editio princeps* of Lactantius Placidus.

Rome, 1480?: (Hain 14975). No printer given. According to Schweiger, II, 962, the date (1475) and place (Rome) given in the

colophon refer to the ending of the last commentary (that of Domitius Calderinus to the *Silvae*), not to the time of printing. He dates this edition c. 1480, at Rome, and my examination of the text of these first two editions has led me to give this edition a later date than that of Boninus Mombritius. Deycks (*op. cit.*, p. 12) mentions a Rome, 1480 edition (apparently following Schweiger) among the editions "quas novimus". Copinger notes a copy at Besançon, and I have not been able to turn up another copy, despite checking throughout Europe.

Venice, 1480: (Hain 14991). Cited by Schweiger from Maittaire I, 413. Schweiger considers it "sehr zweifelhaft". I have not been able to locate a copy.

Venice, 1483: (Hain 14976). Printed by Octavianus Scotus. Harvard has a copy, and there is one at Dartmouth College.

Milan, 1486: (Hain 14977). Printed by Antonius Zarotus. Schweiger lists this from Saxius p. 582, and says that no copy had been known for some time; I have not been able to locate a copy.

Venice, 1490: (Hain 14978). Printed by Jacobus de Paganinis brisiensis (*sic*). A reprint of the 1483 edition. Harvard has a copy.

Milan, 1491: . . . *opera cum commentariis variorum*. Folio. Reported by Schweiger from Ebert, *Bibl. Lex.* 21663. I have not been able to locate a copy.

Venice, 1494: (Hain 14979). Printed by Bartholomaeus de Zanis. This edition was used by Schottky (*op. cit.*). Harvard has two copies, and there is one in the Boston Public Library and one at Dartmouth College.

Venice, 1498: (Hain 14980). Printed by Jo. Pt. de Quarengis. Schweiger's opinion that this is only a reprint of the preceding edition seems correct, based on my collations of the text of Lactantius Placidus in the Harvard copy.

Venice, 1508: Same contents and printer as the Venice edition of 1498. This edition was used by Kohlmann in *Lactantii Placidi* . . . (*op. cit.*). There does not seem to be a copy in the United States, but I have located copies at Bonn, Geneva, Wolfenbüttel, Copenhagen, Perugia, and the Vatican.

In addition, the list of editions in the 1785 Bipontine edition of Statius, which is full of errors (e.g., it ascribes the 1490, 1498, and 1508 Venetae to Bartholomaeus de Zanis) lists a 1485 Brescia edition, folio, of the *Silvae* with the commentary of Calderinus, the *Achilleid* with that of Maturantius, and the *Thebaid* with that

of Lactantius Placidus (probably a mistake for the 1490 Venice edition, which was printed by Jacobus de Paganinis, from Brescia) and a 1508 Venice edition of Lactantius Placidus alone from the Aldine Press (quoting Masson, *Hist. Crit. Reip. literar.* I, 191, a work which I have not been able to find), which also seems to be a palpable confusion.

In Cod. Guelf. 65. Aug. fol. at Wolfenbüttel (see Chapter I, List K end) there is an eight-page printed section (ff. 1-8), of the fifteenth century, mistakenly called "Breve commentum in Statii Thebaidem," but actually to the *Achilleid.* The Wolfenbüttel catalogue asks whether this be Hain 14975: it certainly is not, since this is not identical with the commentary of Maturantius (or Mataracius) found in that edition. There is no indication of author, date, or place of publication of this small commentary, which is almost entirely composed of mythological notes, after a short life of Statius, and which is similar to works found in numerous Renaissance and late mediaeval manuscripts (cf. Chapter I, List G). I have not been able to identify this with any known published work.

After 1508, there does not seem to have been another publication until 1600.

Paris, 1600: the edition of Lindenbrog, containing all the works of Statius along with Lactantius Placidus and the *Achilleid* commentary. Schweiger comments that other examples were printed at Antwerp and Geneva, and Burman (*op. cit.*, p. 3) claims that it was reprinted at Lyons in 1654. I have not been able to confirm either of these two statements. Harvard has a copy, as do Berkeley, Duke, Michigan, Cincinnati, Washington and Lee, Illinois, and Yale.

Paris, 1618: Another edition of all of Statius, published by Thomas Blaise, edited by Cruceus, reprinting part of Lindenbrog's text of the commentaries to both works. There is a copy at Harvard, and others at Yale and Berkeley.

Zwickau, East Germany, 1664: the edition of Statius with commentaries by Caspar von Barth, put out by Christian Daum after the death of Barth in 1658. There are copies of this work at Washington and Lee, Cincinnati, and Northwestern.

Leyden, 1671: Another complete edition of Statius with various commentaries, edited by Johann Veenhusen. This work is not

uncommon, nor are the following editions unless I have indicated where copies are to be found.

London, 1824: The Delphin edition of A. J. Valpy in four volumes, containing the Bipontine edition text of Statius together with various commentaries.

Paris, 1825-1830: the four-volume *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* edition of Statius by J.A. Amar and N. E. Lamaire, containing various commentaries. Unimportant, like the preceding edition.

Leipzig, 1837: The two-volume edition of Statius with commentaries by Friedrich Duebner. This was also apparently reprinted in Paris in 1845, and may have been copied from a Paris edition of 1835, although I suspect this latter of being a "bibliographical ghost", originating in a misprint.

Emden, 1877: A sample edition of the *Achilleid,* verses 1-396, with the commentary to these verses, printed in a *Gymnasialprogramm* by Philipp Kohlmann. There are copies of this in this country at Princeton, Yale, and Bryn Mawr.

Emden, 1887: A sample edition of Lactantius Placidus III, 1-323, printed in a *Gymnasialprogramm* by Philipp Kohlmann. There is a copy of this work at Princeton.

Leipzig, 1898: the Teubner edition of Lactantius Placidus edited by Richard Jahnke.

Also note Rudolf Helm's article on Fulgentius Planciades, which contained an edition of this work ("Anecdoton Fulgentianum," *Rh. M.* LII (1897), 177-186), reprinted in his Teubner edition of Fulgentius Planciades of 1898.

B. Secondary works

In addition to the works listed below, information about manuscripts containing glosses and scholia can be found in the introductions to various editions of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid,* especially those of:

Otto MUELLER, *Thebaid,* Leipzig, 1870 (Volume I only appeared, containing *Thebaid* I-VI).

Philipp KOHLMANN, *Achilleid,* Leipzig, 1879.

——, *Thebaid,* Leipzig, 1884.

Alfred KLOTZ, *Thebaid,* Leipzig, 1908.

——, *Achilleid,* Leipzig, 1901; *ed. alt.,* Leipzig, 1926.

Silvia JANNACCONE, *Achilleid,* Florence, 1950.

O. A. W. DILKE, *Achilleid,* Cambridge, 1954.

The last two contain notes, which may be consulted *passim* on

the scholia. The notes in such older editions as those of Bernartius (Antwerp, 1595) and Gevartius (Leyden, 1616) may also be consulted.

Various editions of authors which are cited in the scholia or which use the scholia also contain notes *passim* on various readings, such as Porson's edition of Euripides, in which the citation at V, 163 was identified as *Orestes*, 675-676 in his notes *ad loc.*, or general remarks on Lactantius Placidus, but cf. especially:

Georg Heinrich BODE, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti*, 2 vols., Celle, 1834 (from which Jahnke adopts emendations at 13,9 and 13,10 from his notes on Vat. Myth. I, 170, and at 284,22 from his notes on Vat. Myth. I,47; there are many others suggested *passim*). Bode also reprints in his preface Angelo, Cardinal Mai's remarks on Lactantius Placidus in the introduction to his *editio princeps* of the Vatican Mythographers, remarks which had best be forgotten.

Thomas MUNCKERUS, *Mythographi latini* . . ., 2 vols. in 1, Amsterdam, 1681.

Jahnke, in his edition, also used some conjectures supplied to him by his teachers and friends, Usener, Vollmer, and Richard Klotz (also perhaps Meiners, cited to 120, 19, for which I have found no printed source), and the notes left by Philipp Kohlmann in the University Library at Bonn, and since destroyed.

I have not been able to locate the source of the readings of the "anonymus Heidelbergensis," cited by Jahnke at 361,1; 433,5; and 499,7, except that they probably came from Kohlmann's notes. Perhaps he can be dated by the fact that Kohlmann does not mention the last of these three passages in his apparatus to the *Achilleid* scholia in his partial edition of 1877, but used his conjecture to *Thebaid* XII, 59 in his Teubner edition of this poem in 1884.

The readings ascribed by Jahnke to Grotius (at 5,16; 54,16; 60,12; 228,18; 235,9; 405,26; 466,10; and 468,3) are also undoubtedly from Kohlmann's notes. In his Teubner edition of the *Thebaid, op. cit.*, p. XVI, the source is identified as marginal readings in Grotius' copy of Lindenbrog's edition at Leyden (Nr. 759 D 8) and readings labelled with his name in Gevartius' (later Graevius') copy of this same edition at Heidelberg.

Jahnke probably also used Kohlmann's notes as the source for his citation of Richard Bentley at 482,4 (to Lactantius Placidus XII, 59), the source of which I have not been able to locate. It is not from his notes in the Gevartius edition in the British Museum, which were published by Moriz Haupt, in "Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Gedichte des P. Papinius Statius aus Richard Bentleys

und Johann Schraders Aufzeichnungen," *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1861, 1079-1084 (= Haupt, *Opuscula*, Leipzig, 1876, Vol. III, 1, 126-136).

At 420,4 (to Lactantius Placidus IX, 491) "Menkius" is cited by Jahnke, probably also from Kohlmann's notes. Friedrich Menke's notes, from which it is derived, are now MSS. 1835-1879 (Miscell. 1). Cartons XXXIV-XLIII, "Materialien zur Erklärung lateinischer Schriftsteller", in the Strasbourg library, where they survived the fire of 1870.

Also cf. the references in Schanz-Hosius, II, 2, section 408 and IV, 1, section 1118 (on Lactantius Placidus) and II, 2, section 412 and IV, 2, section 1096 (on Fulgentius Planciades), and in *RE* XIII, 215-222, s. v. "Fulgentius" (Skutsch) and XXIII, 356-360, s. v. "Lactantius Placidus" (Wessner). For further information on articles referring to various manuscripts, see the references to these articles in Chapter III above.

Anonymous, *A.L.L.G.* XI (1904), 296 (a review of Jahnke).

——, *Literarisches Centralblatt* 1899, 346-347 (a review of Jahnke). This review has some testimonia and suggests some emendations, but one's faith in it is rather shaken when it says that Jahnke "hat sein Text auf eine sichere Grundlage gestellt."

BAEHRENS, Willem Adolf. *Studia Serviana ad litteras Graecas atque Latinas pertinentia*, Ghent, 1917 (cf. Wessner in *J.A.W.* CLXXXVIII, 233-234).

BEZZOLA, G. "Un frammento di codice della Tebaide di Stazio," *Athenaeum* XVIII (1940), 51-53 (especially p. 52).

BIDEZ, Joseph and CUMONT, Franz. *Les mages hellénisés*, Paris, 1938, I, 226-227 (on IV,515; see under Vaticanus palatinus 1694 above).

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1895 (a second discussion seems not to have appeared. This first article is concerned with the *Achilleid* scholia. There is a copy at Princeton).

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EXPLICIT FELICITER

R. D. SWEENEY, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Scholia to Statius*

ERRATUM

page 68, line 1 for *nativitas* read *nativitatis*